



THE DIDACHE

OR

✓ TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

RESTORED TO ITS ORIGINAL STATE FROM VARIOUS
SOURCES, WITH AN INTRODUCTION
TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

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INTRODUCTION

AN addition was unexpectedly made to the scanty remains of the Apostolic period when, about the year 1873, Bryennius, now Bishop of Nicomedia, discovered in the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople a manuscript of the eleventh century, containing, besides other works, a complete text of the First and Second Epistles of St. Clement to the Corinthians, which had only existed previously in a mutilated state in the Codex Alexandrinus, and a lost work called "The Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles," which, though mentioned in Athanasius¹ and Eusebius² among the Apocryphal books of the New Testament, had not, since the time of Nicephorus in the ninth century, been known or quoted. The publication of the text by Bryennius soon led to the discovery that, although new as a work with the title of "The Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles," it was already substantially known, nearly the whole of it being contained in three works that had already been published—"The Epistle of Barnabas," "The Apostolical Constitutions," and a recently discovered treatise called "The Epitome of the Holy Apostles." This, though it does not affect the genuineness of the discovery, affects a good deal the importance that was supposed to attach to the publica-

¹ Athanasius, Epist. Fest. 39.

² Euseb., H.E. iii. 25, 4, 5.

tion of a new theological treatise of the Apostolic period. An examination of the text as published by Bryennius, printed at the end of the introduction, with the passages not previously known marked with brackets, will show that practically the whole of the treatise, with the exception of a few of the directions given for the reception of apostles and prophets, was already known, and had been in the hands of scholars for some time; so that the chief importance of the discovery would seem to be its enabling us to identify the passages in the "Epistle of Barnabas" and the "Apostolic Constitutions," and to refer to their proper period and source what had hitherto been doubtful.

What, then, was the source from which the various writers, whose work we find in the "Epistle of Barnabas," "The Shepherd of Hermas," "The Apostolic Constitutions," and "The Epitome of the Holy Apostles," drew the doctrines and regulations which we find for the first time collected in the "Didache" of Bryennius? And the answer would seem to be this: There existed at a very remote period, most likely before the end of the first century, a work handed down by oral tradition which was supposed to embody the verbal teaching of the first Apostles. The expression itself, διδασχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων, "teaching of the Apostles," occurs in Acts xi. 42, and the use of the word διδασχῇ for teaching or doctrine is common in the New Testament,¹ so that it would be the natural title for a collection of sayings or precepts

¹ Matt. vii. 28, xvi. 12; Mark i. 27, iv. 2; John vii. 16, xviii. 11; Acts xiii. 12, xvii. 19; Rom. vi. 17; 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 26; 2 Tim. iv. 2; Titus i. 9; Heb. vi. 2, xiii. 9; 2 John 9, 10. The word is always translated "doctrine" in the Authorised Version.

which had been handed down by tradition as representing the verbal teaching of the Apostles. We may suppose that this work, after existing for a time in a traditional form, was embodied in writing, and used to form part of the earliest Christian books, and consequently portions of it appeared in "The Shepherd of Hermas" and the Epistle attributed to Barnabas.

At a period a little later, the compiler of the "Apostolic Constitutions" included this traditional work, which had already partly appeared in writing, in his collection of precepts supposed to have been given by the Apostles themselves, so that in the seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" we find the doctrine of the *Duæ Viæ* worked out at length, with precepts for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment of Christian ministers. At a still later period the editor of the "Epitome of the Holy Apostles" endeavoured to complete the notion of a *Didache* of the Apostles by giving the names of the Apostles themselves, and referring each precept to its author. These four forms of the Apostolic teaching, or, at any rate, the first three of them, were in the hands of the anonymous writer of the treatise known as "The *Didache* of the Apostles," who compiled and abridged from them the work that we now possess as the *Didache*, giving in a condensed form what had previously existed in a number of other works, with a view to supplying a manual of conduct, based on the actual teaching of the Apostles themselves, and adding some formulæ, possibly belonging to an earlier period than his own, for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment and maintenance of ministers and church officers.

But what, it may be asked, was the nature of this teaching, supposed to have been handed down by tradition as having been delivered by the first Apostles? The idea was that of the *Duæ Viæ* or two ways, a series of ethical precepts as to what was to be avoided, and what was to be followed in conduct, to which were added a few directions as to the administration of the Sacraments, and the appointment of church officers.

The notion of the two ways or modes of conduct laid before men is one of great antiquity, occurring in Scripture as early as the Book of Deuteronomy, xxvii. 4, where the Israelites are commanded, after they had entered Palestine, to select the two mountains of Ebal and Gerizim—Gerizim representing the path of obedience and Ebal that of transgression, blessings being pronounced from the one and curses from the other; and the command, we are told, was actually carried out by Joshua after the Israelites had occupied Palestine.¹ The same notion occurs in the prophecies of Jeremiah xxi. 8: "Thus saith the Lord, Behold I set before you the way of life and the way of death." It is also found in the classical writers as early as Hesiod, and it appears in the fable called "The Choice of Hercules," attributed to Prodicus the sophist.² The notion is that of two paths placed before a person at the commencement of his career, the one narrow and difficult but right, the other easy and pleasant but wrong. In this shape it is found in the Canonical Gospels, *cf.* Matt. vii. 13, where the *εὐρύχωρος ὁδὸς* and the *τεθλιμμένη ὁδὸς* are mentioned and

¹ Joshua viii. 32.

² Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 285; Prodicus apud Xenophont. *Mem.* ii. 1, 21.

contrasted. "Wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat; because strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it;" and this passage is most likely the real source of the doctrine of the two ways found in the "Epistle of Barnabas," where we read, "There are two ways of teaching and authority, one of light and the other of darkness, and the difference is great between the two ways." This idea of the two ways is expanded and worked out at some length, first in the "Epistle of Barnabas," and afterwards in the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the "Epitome of the Holy Apostles," and for some reason the name of St. Peter came to be connected with it. Thus it is stated by Athanasius in his remarks on the Canon—"There are also other books, not canonical, but called by the fathers ecclesiastical, such as the book called 'The Shepherd of Hermas' and that which is called 'The Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter;'" and the same work seems to be mentioned by Eusebius with the title of "The Teachings of the Apostles," διδασκαλί τῶν ἀποστόλων. Thus a new manual of ethics was formed for the use of the Christian Church, based partly on the actual teaching of Christ as found in the Gospels, partly on the application of the ideas contained in it, which are arranged and enlarged so as to form a complete manual of duty. To this was added, apparently on the same authority, the oral tradition of the Apostolic teaching, directions for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment and maintenance of ministers of religion. The work thus edited would supply a code of Christian duty and discipline, based upon what was supposed to have

been said by the Apostles themselves, and supported by passages from the Canonical Gospels, and as such would be what Athanasius calls it, not canonical, or to be considered a book of the New Testament, but useful to persons who had recently joined the Christian Church, and wished to be instructed in the duties of a pious life. These books were, he says, "The Wisdom of Solomon," "The Wisdom of Sirach," the Books of Esther, Judith, and Tobit, the work called "The Teaching of the Apostles" and the "Shepherd." We thus arrive at the complete nature of the work called "The Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles," and find it to be in reality a combination of two systems of teaching, perhaps of two treatises, the *Duæ Viæ* or *Judicium Petri*, and the *διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* or the doctrines of the Apostles. From the first comes the doctrine of the two paths; from the second, the directions for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment and maintenance of ministers of religion.¹

¹ The latter work seems to have been known under various titles, such as the *Duæ Viæ*, the *Judicium Petri*, *αἱ διατάγαι αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος*, and *ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων*. The Epitome or *Judicium Petri* was missing until 1842, when it was published at Giessen by Bichell, and afterwards by Hilgenfeld at Leipsic in 1866: it is referred to by Rufinus Aquitanus in the following passage, 345-410 A.D.:—"Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a maioribus appellati sunt: ut est Sapientia Salomonis et alia Sapientia quæ dicitur filii Syrach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est. eiusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiae et Judith et Maccabæorum libri. in Novo vero Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, [et] qui appellatur *Duæ viæ* vel *Judicium Petri*."—*Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*, c. 38.

Hieronymus de Vir. Illustr. c. 1 (Opp. ii. 827): "Libri autem

It remains to trace chronologically the various sources from which the Didache seems to have been compiled. The doctrine of the Two Ways is first found in Christian literature at the conclusion of the Epistle of Barnabas, which may date perhaps as early as 79 A.D., though the majority of critics place it about the beginning of the second century. "Let us pass on," he says, "to another method of knowledge and teaching. There are two paths

(*i.e.* Petri), e quibus unus Actorum eius inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Iudicii, inter apocryphas scripturas repudiantur."

The former, the Teaching or Teachings of the Apostles, is mentioned in the following passages in Eusebius and Athanasius:—

Euseb., HE. iii. 25, 4, 5. ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἢ γραφῇ, ὃ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαὶ· ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανεῖη, ἣν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις. ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ἂν εἴη.

Athanasius, Opp. i. 2, 963. ἕνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθηναι καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως, ὡς ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· Σοφία Σολομώντος καὶ Σοφία Σιράχ καὶ Εὐσθήρ καὶ Ἰουδῖθ καὶ Τοβίας καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ Ποιμὴν.

Anastasius Sinaiticus, Quæst. et Respon. Περίοδοι καὶ διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Nicephori Stichometria. Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων στίχοι s'.

Zonaras (Sæc. xii.). τὴν διδαχὴν δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων τινὲς λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰς διὰ τοῦ Κλήμεντος γραφείσας διατάξεις.

Matthæus Blastares. ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν κανονιζομένων εἶναι φησιν (Ἀθανάσιος) τὴν Σοφίαν Σολομώντος—καὶ τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.—Coteler, i. 193.

Cyprian de Aleatoribus, c. Et in Doctrinis Apostolorum, Si quis frater delinquit in Ecclesia, &c.

of teaching and authority, that of light and that of darkness." The passage which follows should be compared with the Didache of Bryennios, i.-v.; the use of the word διδαχή, ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γινῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν, in the introductory sentence should be noticed, as it apparently contains the germ of the notion, afterwards expanded in the second century, of a διδαχή or system of teaching inculcated by the early teachers of Christianity.

The passages that follow are from c. xviii. to xx. of the Epistle of Barnabas; they should be carefully compared with the Didache discovered by Bryennios, as they contain the earliest statement of the doctrine of the two ways, and represent, more closely perhaps than the later work, the traditional teaching of the Apostles.

XVIII. Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γινῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἡ τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσιν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ. 2. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν Κύριος ἀπὸ αἰῶνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

XIX. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· εἰάν τις θελῶν ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθείσα ἡμῖν γινῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη. 2. Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου· ἔσῃ ἀπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι· οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου,

μισήσεις πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρεστὸν τῷ Θεῷ μισήσεις
 πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου.
 3. οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν, ἔση δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ
 πάντα. οὐκ ἀρεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτόν δόξαν. οὐ λήμψῃ
 βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐ δώσεις
 τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. 4. οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ
 μοιχεύσεις,¹ οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις. οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος
 τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν. οὐ λήμψῃ
 πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. ἔση
 πρᾶϋς, ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων τοὺς λόγους² οὓς
 ἤκουσας. οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. 5. οὐ
 μὴ διψυχήσης πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. οὐ μὴ λάβῃς
 ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.³ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν
 πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. οὐ φονεύσεις
 τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς.
 οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ
 τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις
 φόβον Θεοῦ. 6. οὐ μὴ γένῃ ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ
 πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένῃ πλεονέκτης. οὐδὲ κολλη-
 θήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ
 ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ. τὰ συμβαίνοντά
 σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄνευ
 Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. 7. οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ
 δίγλωσσος. ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν
 αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ. οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δούλῳ σου ἢ
 παιδίσκῃ ἐν πικρίᾳ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν
 ἐλπίζουσιν, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπ’
 ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν· ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ κατὰ πρόσωπον
 καλέσαι, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. 8. κοινω-
 νήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τῷ πλησίον σου, καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια

¹ Ex. xx. 14.² Is. lxvi. 2.³ Ex. xx. 7.

εἶναι¹· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσω μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς. οὐκ ἔστι πρόγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ τὸ στόμα θανάτου. ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις. 9. μὴ γίνου πρὸς μέν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν.² ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον Κυρίου.³ 10. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκαστὴν ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρον ἁμαρτιῶν σου. 11. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδούς γογγύσεις, γνώσῃ δὲ τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸν πονηρόν. κρινεῖς δικαίως. 12. οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών. ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις σου. οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ προσευχῇ ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

XX. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σκολιὰ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστιν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν· εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἄρπαγὴ, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, ἀνθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία Θεοῦ. 2. διώκεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεύδη, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολ-

¹ Acts iv. 32.² Eccclus. iv. 31.³ Heb. xiii. 7.

λόμενοι ἀγαθῷ,¹ οὐ κρίσει δικαία, χήρα καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομονή, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεῶντες πτωχόν, οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτοὺς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί. πανθαμάρτητοι.

XXI. Καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶν μαθόντα τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅσα γέγραπται, ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται ὁ ἐκείνα ἐκλεγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ συναπολείται.

Next in order follows the Shepherd of Hermas, with a date not much later than the Epistle of Barnabas, and certainly one of the oldest Christian works outside the canon of the New Testament. Here we have again the doctrine of the two ways, called here the *ὀρθή* and *στρεβλή ὁδός*, the straight and the crooked path, and two angels are fancifully represented as presiding over them. "Walk thou," says the author of the Shepherd, "in the straight path, and avoid the crooked." The notion of duality in conduct, of two lines of life laid before every one, one to be avoided, and the other to be followed, is insisted upon in Hermas chiefly on ethical grounds, and with little reference to Scripture, but more to the *δίκαιον* and *ἄδικον* of the philosophic schools, and even an

¹ Rom. xii. 9.

allusion to the system of the Peripatetics might be traced in the use of the terms *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*.¹

I. Ἐνετειλάμην σοι, φησίν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ ἵνα φυλάξης τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. Ναί, φημί, κύριε. Ἀλλὰ νῦν θέλω σοι, φησί, δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἰότης τίς αὐτῶν τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ ἐνέργειαν. διπλαῖ γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτῶν· κείνται οὖν ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἀδίκῳ. 2. σὺ οὖν πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ μὴ πιστεύσης· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἀδικον στρεβλὴν· ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορεύου [καὶ ὁμαλῇ], τὴν δὲ στρεβλὴν ἔασον. 3. ἡ γὰρ στρεβλὴ ὁδὸς τρίβους οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα πολλά, καὶ τραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ ἀκαιθώδης. βλαβερά οὖν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ πορευομένοις, 4. οἱ δὲ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι ὁμαλῶς περιπατοῦσι καὶ ἀπροσκόπτως· οὔτε γὰρ τραχεῖά ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκαιθώδης. βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι συμφωρότερόν ἐστι ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. 5. Ἀρέσκει μοι, φημί, κύριε, ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. Πορεύσῃ, φησί, καὶ ὅς ἂν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Κύριον πορεύεται ἐν αὐτῇ.²

II. Ἀκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τῆς πίστεως. δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἰς τῆς πονηρίας. 2. Πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, γινώσκομαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφότεροι ἄγγελοι μετ' ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; 3. Ἀκουε, φησί, καὶ σύνιε αὐτάς.

¹ Hermas Pastor. Mand. vi. 1.

² Parallelisms occur also in Hermas, Mand. ii. and Mand. xi., vide Doctrina Apost. c. i. s. xi.-xiii.

ὁ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος τρυφερός ἐστι καὶ αἰσχυνηρὸς καὶ πραὺς καὶ ἡσύχιος. ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, εὐθέως λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ ἀγνείας, περὶ σεμνότητος, περὶ αὐταρκειάς, περὶ παντὸς ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. ταῦτα πάντα ὅταν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γίνωσκε ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετὰ σοῦ ἐστί. [ταῦτα οὖν ἐστί τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης.] τούτῳ οὖν πίστευε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. 4. ὅρα νῦν καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον πάντων ὀξύχολός ἐστι καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ἄφρων, καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά, καταστρέφοντα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γινώθι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.

Next follows the recently discovered work, which is best described as the *Duæ Viæ* or *Judicium Petri*.¹ It does not seem to be quite complete, as though two ways are mentioned in c. 1, only the *ὁδὸς ζωῆς* is given in detail, the *ὁδὸς θανάτου* being omitted; it concludes with directions for the appointment of church officers. It is impossible to avoid noticing the similarity between the style of the *Epitome* or *Duæ Viæ* and a well-known

¹ This title is not found in the manuscripts where the work is called *Αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος*, and *Ἐπιτομή ὅρων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων*. Hilgenfeld has conjectured, with some plausibility, that it is in reality a portion of the missing *Judicium Petri*. If, however, the title of *Epitome* is preferred, it would be a collection of precepts on the subject of the Two Paths, with St. Peter as the chief speaker. The commencement should be compared with that of the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

fragment of Papias,¹ so that it might almost be conjectured that a portion of the *Λογῶν Κυριακῶν Ἐξηγήσεις* of Papias was contained in the *Judicium Petri*, which would thus carry the source of the Teaching of the Apostles almost to the Apostolic period. The text of Hilgenfeld has been given, who cites three manuscripts of the work: Vindobonensis, Mosquensis, Ottobonianus. There is also a Syriac version.

¹ 3. Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένοις τῆς ἀληθείας. 4. Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης. —Papias, Frag. i; Euseb. H.E. iii. 39.

7. Καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρειληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι γενέσθαι. Ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι τίθησιν αὐτῶν καὶ παραδόσεις. Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον εἰρήσθω.—Euseb. H. E. iii. 39.

Papias, Iohannis auditor, Hierapolitanus in Asia episcopus, quinque tantum scripsit volumina, quæ prænotavit Explanatio Sermonum Domini. In quibus quum se in præfatione asserat non varias opiniones sequi, sed apostolos habere auctores, ait: Considerabam, quid Andreas, quid Petrus dixissent, quid Philippus, quid Thomas, quid Iacobus, quid Iohannes, quid Matthæus, vel alius quilibet discipulorum Domini.—Cf. Jerome de Vir. Ill. c. xviii. p. 82.

THE DUÆ VIÆ OR JUDICIUM PETRI.

Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἰωάννης καὶ Ματθαῖος καὶ Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας καὶ φίλιππος καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ναθαναὴλ καὶ Θωμᾶς καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου.

Κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ του σωτῆρος συναθροισθέντων ἡμῶν, καθὼς διέταξε (πρὸ τοῦ· Μέλλετε κληροῦσθαι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, καταλογίσασθαι τόπων ἀριθμούς, ἐπισκόπων ἀξίας, πρεσβυτέρων ἑδρας, διακόνων παρεδρείας, ἀναγνωστῶν νουνεχίας, χηρῶν ἀνεγκλησίας καὶ ὅσα δέοι πρὸς θεμελίωσιν ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα τύπον τῶν ἐπουρανίων εἰδότες φυλάσσωνται ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀστοχήματος, εἰδότες ὅτι λόγον ὑφέξουσιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως περὶ ὧν ἀκούσαίτες οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν) καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμψασθαι τοὺς λόγους εἰς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἔδοξεν (οὖν) ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἀδελφότητος καὶ νουθεσίαν ἐκάστω ὡς ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψε κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου μνησθεῖσι λόγου ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν.

Ι. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἰδότες ὅτι λόγον ὑφεξομεν περὶ τῶν διατεταγμένων ἡμῖν εἰς ἐνὸς πρόσωπον μὴ λαμβάνωμεν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις δοκῇ συμφέρον ἀντιλέγειν, ἀντιλεγέσθω αὐτῷ.

ἔδοξε δὲ πᾶσι πρῶτον Ἰωάννην εἰπεῖν.

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο

ὁδῶν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη·¹ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη. δεύτερον· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἐαυτόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ δευτέρα· ἐν οἷς ὁλος ὁ νόμος κρέματα καὶ οἱ προφῆται.

Ματθαῖος εἶπε Πάντα ὅσα μὴ θέλεις σοὶ γενέσθαι, μὴδὲ σὺ ἄλλῳ ποιήσεις. τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων τὴν διδασχὴν εἶπέ, ἀδελφε Πέτρε.²

Πέτρος εἶπεν Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις, οὐκ ἔσῃ εἰγώμιος, οὐδὲ δίγλωστος· παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία. οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενός, οὐδὲ ψευδής, οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης, οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ. οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής, οὐδὲ κακοήθης, οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος, οὐδὲ λήληθι βουλήν ποιηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις, περὶ ὧν δὲ προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

Ἀνδρέας εἶπε Τέκνον μου φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς φόνον· ἔστι γὰρ διαιμόνιον ἁρρενικὸν ὁ θυμός. μὴ γίνου ζηλωτής, μὴδὲ ἐριστικός, μὴδὲ θυμαντικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων φόνος γεννᾶται.

Φίλιππος εἶπε Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν καὶ ἔλκει

¹ Matt. xxii. 40.

² Tob. iv. 16; Luc. vi. 31.

τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἑαυτήν· ἔστι γὰρ θηλυκὸν δαιμόνιον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ ὁ μὲν μετ' ὀργῆς, ὁ δὲ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπόλλυσι τοὺς εἰσδεχομένους αὐτά. ὁδὸς δὲ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ἁμαρτία ψυχῆς· καὶ ὅταν βραχεῖαν εἰσδυσιν σχῇ ἐν αὐτῷ, πλατύνει αὐτήν· καὶ ἄγει ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην καὶ οὐκ ἔα διαβλέψαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὁ θυμὸς ὑμῶν μέτρον ἐχέτω καὶ ἐν βραχεὶ διαστήματι αὐτὸν ἡμιοχεῖτε καὶ ἀνακρούετε. ἵνα μὴ ἐμβάλλῃ ὑμᾶς εἰς ἔργον πονηρόν. θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡδονὴ πονηρὰ ἐπιπολὺ παραμένοντα κατὰ ἐπίτασιν δαιμόνια γίνεται. καὶ ὅταν ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἰδαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ γίνονται μείζονες καὶ ἀπάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔργα ἄδικα καὶ ἐπιγελῶσιν αὐτῷ. ἡδονταὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Σίμων εἶπε Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων μοιχεῖαι γίνονται.

Ἰάκωβος εἶπε Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος, ἐπεὶδὴ ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν, μηδὲ ἐπαοιδός, μηδὲ μαθηματικός, μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ ἰδεῖν, μηδὲ ἀκούειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρεῖαι γεννῶνται.

Ναθανὰλ εἶπε Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπεὶδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα ἐπὶ τὴν κλοπὴν, μηδὲ φιλάργυρος, μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται.

Ἰούδας εἶπε Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου γόγγυστος, ἐπεὶδὴ ἄγει πρὸς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ αὐθάδης, μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται.¹

¹ Matt. v. 4.

ἴσθι δὲ πρῶς, ἐπειδὴ πραιεῖς κληρονομοῦσι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. γίνου μακρόθυμος, ἐλεήμων, εἰρηνοποιός, καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος,¹ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φυλάσσων καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας· οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν, οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀνυστραφήσῃ· τὰ δὲ συμβάνονταί σοι ἐις ἐργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Θωμᾶς εἶπεν Τέκνον, τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου. μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ νῦκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, τιμήσεις αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγίους, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύσῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· κολλώμενος γὰρ ἀγίοις ἀγιασθήσῃ. τιμήσεις αὐτόν, καθ' ὃ αὐτὸς εἰ, ἐκ τοῦ ἰδρωτός σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόνου τῶν χείρων σου. εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος δι' αὐτοῦ ἡξίωσε τοι δοθῆναι πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, σὺ ὀφείλεις πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ πρόσκαιρον προσφέρειν τροφήν.² ἄξιός γάρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ Βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις, καὶ οὐδεὶς φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει.

Κηφᾶς εἶπεν Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως· οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπόν

¹ Is. lxvi. 2.

² Luc. x. 7 ; 1 Tim. v. 18 ; 1 Cor. ix. 7-9 ; Dent. xxv. 4.

τινα ἐλέγξει ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει πλούτος παρὰ κυρίῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἀξία προκρίνει, οὐδὲ κάλλος ὠφελεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἰσότης ἐστὶ πάντων παρ' αὐτῷ. ἐν προσευχῇ σου μὴ διψυχήσης, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ·¹ μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσίν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· οὐ διστάσεις διδόναι, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γάρ, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ ἐνδεόμενον, κοινωνήσεις δὲ ἀπάντων τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν φθαρτοῖς.

Βαρθολομαῖος εἶπεν· Ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὥς ἔτι καιρὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἔχετε, εἰς οὓς ἐργάζεσθε μετ' ἑαυτῶν, μὴ ἐκλείπετε ἐν μηδενί, ἐξουσίαν ἐὰν ἔχητε· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ συναπολείται πάντα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ.² ἤξει γὰρ ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι ἀγαθοί, διδακτοί. φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προσθείς, μήτε ὑφαιρῶν.

II. Πέτρος εἶπεν· Ἀδελφοί, τὰ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν νουθεσιῶν αἱ γραφαὶ διδάξουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἃ ἐκελεύσθημεν διατάξωμεν. πάντες εἶπαν Πέτρος λεγέτω.

Πέτρος εἶπεν· Ἐὰν ὀλιγανδρία ὑπάρχη, καὶ μὴ που πλῆθος τυγχάνῃ τῶν δυναμένων ψηφίσασθαι περὶ ἐπισκόπου ἐντὸς δεκαδύο ἀνδρῶν, εἰς τὰς πλησίον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπου τυγχάνει πεπηγυῖα, γραφέτωσαν, ὅπως ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλεκτοὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρες παραγενόμενοι δοκιμῇ δοκιμάσωσι τὸν ἄξιον ὄντα, εἴ τις φήμην καλὴν ἔχει ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰ ἀναμάρτητος ὑπάρχει, εἰ

¹ Sir. iv. 31.² Is. xl. 10.

φιλόπτωχος, εἰ σώφρων, μὴ μέθυστος, μὴ πόρνος, μὴ πλεονέκτης ἢ λαιδορός ἢ προσωπολήπτης καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια. καλὸν μὲν εἶναι ἀγύναιος, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὑπὸ μιᾶς γυναῖκος, παιδείας μέτοχος, δυνάμενος τὰς γραφὰς ἐρμηνεύειν, εἰ δὲ ἀγράμματος, πρῶτος ὑπάρχων, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς πάντας περιστυέντω, μήποτε περὶ τινος ἐλεγχθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν γενηθείη.

Ἰωάννης. εἶπεν Ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος, εἰδὼς τὸ προσεχὲς καὶ φιλόθεον τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καταστήσει. οὓς εἰάν δοκιμάσῃ πρεσβυτέρους [δεκα]δύο. πάντες ἀντεῖπον ὅτι οὐ [δεκα]δύο, ἀλλὰ κδ'.¹ εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρες εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι, δώδεκα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ δώδεκα ἐξ ἐκκλήσιον. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν καλῶς ὑπεμνήσατε, ἀδελφοί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δεξιῶν δεχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων τὰς φιάλας προσφέρουσι τῷ θεσπότη. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐπέχουσιν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγγέλων. δεῖ οὖν εἶναι [κδ'] τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἤδη κεχρονικότας ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, τρόπῳ τινὶ ἀπεχομένους τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκας συνελεύσεως, εὐμεταδότους εἰς τὴν ἀδελφότητα, πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου μὴ λαμβάνοντας, συμμύστας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ συνεπιμάχους, σιωπῶντας τὸ πλῆθος, προθυμομένους τὸν ποιμένα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν πρεσβύτεροι προνοήσονται τῶν ἐπισκόπων πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὅπως τιμήσωσι καὶ ἐντιμηθῶσιν, εἰς ὃ ἂν δέη. οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν πρεσβύτεροι προνοήσονται τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπως εὐσταθήσῃ καὶ ἀθόρυβον ἢ, πρῶτον μεμαθηκὸς ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ. εἰ δέ τις νοθετούμενος αὐθαδῶς ἀποκριθῇ, τὸ ἐν ποιήσαντες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τὸν τοιοῦτον μετὰ ἴσης βουλῆς, ὃ ἂν ἢ ἄξιον, δικασά-

¹ Apocal. iv. 4-10.

τωσαν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ φόβον ἔχωσι, μήποτε ἐνὸς πρόσωπον λάβωσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον νεμηθῇ ὡς γάγγραινα, καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθῶσι[ν] οἱ πάντες.

Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν Ἀναγνώστης καθιστανέσθω πρῶτον δοκιμῇ δεδοκιμασμένος, μὴ γλωσσοκόπος, μὴ μέθυσος, μηδὲ γελωτολόγος, εὐτροπος, εὐπειθής, εὐγνώμων, ἐν ταῖς κυριακαῖς συνόδοις πρῶτος σύνδρομος, εὐήκοος, διηγητικός, εἰδὼς ὅτι εὐαγγελιστοῦ τόπον ἐργάζεται· ὁ γὰρ ἐμπιπλὼν ὧτα μὴ νοοῦντος ἔγγραφος λογισθήσεται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

Ματθαῖος εἶπε Διάκονοι καθιστάσθωσαν. γέγραπται Ἐπὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα κυρίου.¹ ἔστωσαν δεδοκιμασμένοι πάσῃ διακονίᾳ, μεμαρτυρημένοι παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους, μονόγαμοι, τέκνοτρόφοι, σώφρονες, ἐπεικεῖς, ἡσυχοὶ, μὴ γογγυσοὶ, μὴ δὲ γλωσσοὶ, μὴ ὀργίλοι — ὀργὴ γὰρ ἀπόλλυσιν ἄνδρα φρόνιμον —, μὴ πρόσωπον πλουσίου λαμβάνοντες, μηδὲ πένητα καταδυναστεύοντες, μηδὲ οἶνῳ πολλῷ χρώμενοι, εὐσकुλτοὶ, τῶν κρυφίων ἔργων καλοὶ προτρεπτικοί, ἐπαναγκάζοντες τοὺς ἔχοντας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπλοῦν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐμετάδοτοι, κοινωνικοί, πᾶσῃ τιμῇ καὶ ἐντροπῇ καὶ φόβῳ τιμώμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους,² ἐπιμελῶς προσέχοντες τοῖς ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦσιν, οὓς μὲν νουθετοῦντες, οὓς δὲ παρακαλοῦντες, οὓς δὲ ἐπιτιμῶντες· τοὺς δὲ καταφρονοῦντας τελέως παραπεμπόμενοι, εἰδότες ὅτι οἱ ἀντίλογοι καὶ καταφρονηταὶ καὶ λοῖδοροι Χριστῷ ἀντετάξαντο.

Κηφᾶς εἶπε Χῆραι καθιστανέσθωσαν τρεῖς· αἱ

¹ Deut. xix. 15 ; Matt. xviii. 17 ; 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

² 2 Thess. iii. 11.

δύο προσμένονσαι τῇ προσευχῇ περὶ πάντων [τῶν] ἐν πείρᾳ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις περὶ οὗ ἂν ᾄῃ, μία δὲ παρεδρεύουσα ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πειραζομέναις, εὐδιάκονος, νηπτικ', τὰ δέοντα ἀπαγγέλλουσα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, μὴ αἰσχροκερδής. μὴ οἶνῳ πολλῷ προτέχουσα, ἵνα δύνῃται νήφειν πρὸς τὰς νυκτερινὰς ὑπηρεσίας, καὶ εἴ τις ἑτέρα βούλοιτο ἐργαγαθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πρῶτα κυρίου θησαυρίσματα εἰσιν ἀγαθά.

Ἀνδρέας εἶπε Διάκονοι ἐργάται τῶν καλῶν ἔργων νυχθήμερον ἐπιλεύσοντες πανταχοῦ, μήτε πένητα ὑπεροπτεύοντες, μήτε πλούσιον προσωποληπτεύοντες ἐπιγνώσονται τὸν θλιβόμενον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λογίας οὐκ παραπέμψονται, ἐπαναγκάσουσι τοὺς δυναμένους ἀποθησαυρίζειν εἰς ἔργα ἀγαθά,¹ προορῶντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ διδασκίλου ἡμῶν Εἰδτε με πεινῶντα καὶ οὐκ ἐθρέψατέ με· οἱ γὰρ καλῶς διακονήσαντες καὶ ἀμέμπτως τόπον ἑαυτοῖς προσποιῶνται τὸν ποιμενικόν.

Φιλιππος εἶπεν Ὁ λαϊκὸς τοῖς λαϊκοῖς πράγμασι περιποιθέσθω ὑποτασσόμενος τοῖς παρεδρευουσι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. ἕκαστος τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ ἀρεσκέτω τῷ θεῷ, μὴ φιλεχθροῦντες ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῶν τεταγμένων, ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν δρόμον μὴ παραμενέτω· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἄγγελοι παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐξελίσσουσιν.

(Ἀνδρέας εἶπεν Εὐχρηστόν ἐστιν, ἀδελφοί, ταῖς γυναιξὶ διακονίαν καταστήσαι.

Πέτρος εἶπεν Ἐφθάσαμεν τάξαντες· περὶ δὲ τῆς

¹ Matt. xxv. 35 ; 1 Tim. iii. 13.

προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἀκριβῶς μνηύσωμεν.

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν Ἐπελάθεσθε, ἀδελφοί, ὅτε ᾔτησεν ὁ διδάσκαλος τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ ἠνλόγησεν αὐτὰ λέγων Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ τὸ αἷμα, ὅπ οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε ταύταις συστήναι ἡμῖν. Μάρθα εἶπε Διὰ Μαριάμ ὅτι εἶδεν αὐτὴν μειδιῶσαν.¹ Μαρία εἶπεν Οὐκέτι ἐγέλασα· προέλεγε γὰρ ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενές διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται.

Κηφᾶς εἶπεν Ἐνίων μέμνησθε λεγόντων ὅτι ταῖς γυναίξι μὴ ὀρθαῖς πρέπει προσεύχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καθεζομέναις.

Ἰάκωβος εἶπε Πῶς οὖν δυνάμεθα περὶ γυναικῶν διακονίαν ὀρίσαι, εἰ μὴ τι διακονίας ἵνα ἐπισχίσωσι ταῖς ἐνδεομέναις;

Φίλιππος εἶμε Τοῦτο, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως.) ὁ ποιῶν ἔργον ἐαντῷ θησαυρὸν καλὸν περιποιεῖται· ὁ γὰρ θησαυρίζων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔγγραφος ἐργάτης λογισθήσεται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

Πέτρος εἶπε Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐχ ὥς ἐξουσίαν τινὸς ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ' ἐπιταγὴν ἔχοντες παρὰ κυρίου ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς φυλάξαι τὰς ἐντολάς, μὴδὲν ἀφαιροῦντας ἢ προστιθέντας, τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

Next follows the seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions," composed most likely about 250 A.D. In chapters i.—xxxii. is contained nearly the whole of the *Didachē* of Bryennius, only more complete in form,

¹ Matt. xxvi. 26 sq.

and with the precepts worked out at length. There is no reference to any previous treatise, but the doctrine of the Two Ways is given as one of the Apostolic Doctrines, and is supplemented by directions for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment of church officers, and a prediction of the end of the world follows.

This completes the series of works parallel with the *Didache*, and by comparing them with the Constantinople manuscript it will be seen that nearly every sentence in the *Didache* of Bryennius occurs in one or other of the four works cited. So that the question arises whether the *Didache* was the source from which the other writers drew their sentiments, or whether it was not an epitome or collection made by an anonymous writer, who selected what he considered to be the primitive doctrines of the Apostles, omitting what he considered to be of later date or less importance, and forming out of their teaching a short manual of duty. The shortness of the treatise published by Bryennius seems to suggest the latter view, which will make the work somewhat resemble the Syriac version of Ignatius, which is now acknowledged to be an abridgment of the Greek.¹

¹ Whiston seems to have supposed that he had discovered the missing *Διδαχή τῶν ἀποστόλων* in some Arabic fragments of the Apostolical Constitutions found by him in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; but though he was right in his conjecture that the two works coincided in part, none of his fragments are found in the genuine *Didache*, being all taken from the first to the fourth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, while the *Didache* is only found in the seventh book (Whiston, "Primitive Christianity Revived," p. 81); and Grabe himself was mistaken (*cf.* Grabe, "An Essay upon two Arabic Manuscripts") in supposing that it was contained in the eighth book; the fact that it was really contained in the seventh

Κεφ. 1. Τοῦ νομοθέτου Μωσέως εἰρηκότος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις· Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἐπιφέροντος Ἐκλεξει τὴν ζωὴν ἵνα ζήσης· καὶ τοῦ προφήτου Ἠλία λέγοντος τῷ λαῷ Ἔως πότε χωλανεῖτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις ὑμῶν; εἰ Θεός ἐστι Κύριος, πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· εἰκότως ἔλεγε καὶ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεῖν· εἰ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσῃ καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσῃ, ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσῃ· ἀναγκαίως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ, ὅς ἐστι σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πιστῶν, φαμέν ὡς δύο ὁδοὶ εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. Οὐδεμίαν δὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἑαυτὰς (πολὺ γὰρ τὸ διάφορον), μᾶλλον δὲ πάντῃ κεχωρισμέναι τυγχάνουσι· καὶ φυσικὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ζωῆς ὁδός, ἐπείσακτος δὲ ἡ τοῦ θανάτου, οὐ τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ ὑπάρξαντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου.

Κεφ. 2. Πρώτη οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἣν καὶ ὁ νόμος διαγορεύει, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν ἓνα καὶ μόνον, παρ' ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν. Καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἄλλῳ οὐ ποιήσεις. Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν. Ποία γὰρ ὑμῖν χάρις, ἐὰν φιλήτε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὑμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ

book not having been known until the discovery of the manuscript at Constantinople, all the previous conjectures as to the nature and contents of the lost work having been entirely incorrect.

τοῦτο ποιούσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ φιλεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ἔξετε· οὐ μισήσεις γάρ, φησί, πάντα ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ αἰγύπτιον, οὐκ ἰδουμαῖον, ἅπαντες γὰρ εἰσι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργα. Φεύγετε δὲ οὐ τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλὰ τὰς γνώμας τῶν ποιηρῶν. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐάν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· οὐ φαύλης οὔσης τῆς ἀμύνης, ἀλλὰ τιμιωτέρας τῆς ἀνεξικακίας· λέγει γὰρ ὁ Δαβὶδ Εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα τοῖς ἀνταποδιδούσί μοι κακά. Ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἓν, ὑπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο, καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει. Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέλοντος δανείσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ (ἀποστραφεῖς) ἀποκλείσῃς τὴν χεῖρα· δίκαιος γὰρ ἀνὴρ οἰκτεῖρει καὶ κυχρᾷ· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ὁ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλων ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν αὐτοῦ βρέχων ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. Πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον διδόναι ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων· Τίμα γάρ, φησί, τὸν Κύριον ἀπὸ σῶν δικαίων πόνων· προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἀγίους. Οὐ φονεύσεις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ φθερεῖς τὸν ὅμοιον σοι ἄνθρωπον· διαλύεις γὰρ τὰ καλῶς γινόμενα· οὐχ ὡς παντὸς φόνου φαύλου τυγχάνοντος, ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ ἀθώου, τοῦ δ' ἐνδίκου ἄρχουσι μόνοις ἀφωρισμένου. Οὐ μοιχεύσεις· διαιρεῖς γὰρ μίαν σάρκα εἰς δύο· Ἔσονται γάρ, φησὶν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ἐν γάρ εἰσιν ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ τῇ φύσει, τῇ συμπνοίᾳ, τῇ ἐνώσει, τῇ διαθέσει, τῷ βίῳ, τῷ τρόπῳ, κεχωρισμένοι δὲ εἰσι τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ. Οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις· παρὰ

φύσιν γὰρ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ Σοδόμων φυέν, ἥτις πυρὸς θεηλάτου παρανάλωμα γέγονεν· ἐπικατάρατος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐρεῖ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Γένοιτο. Οὐ πορνεύσεις· οὐκ ἔσται γάρ, φησί, πορνεύων ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. Οὐ κλέψεις· Ἄχαρ γὰρ κλέψας ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Ἱεριχῷ λίθοις βληθεὶς τοῦ ζῆν ὑπεξῆλθε, καὶ Γιεζεὶ κλέψας καὶ ψευδάμενος ἐκκληρονόμησε τοῦ Νεεμᾶν τὴν λέπραν, καὶ Ἰούδας κλέπτων τὰ τῶν πενήτων, τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης παρέδωκεν Ἰουδαίοις καὶ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπήγξατο καὶ ἐλάκησε μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀνανίας καὶ Σαπφείρα ἡ τούτου γυνή, κλέψαντες τὰ ἴδια καὶ πειράσαντες τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου, παραχρῆμα ἀποφάσει Πέτρου τοῦ συναποστόλου ἡμῶν ἐθανατώθησαν.

Κεφ. 3. Οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις· φαρμακοὺς γάρ, φησὶν, οὐ περιβιώσετε. Οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον σου ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐξεικονισμένον, ψυχὴν λαβὼν παρὰ Θεοῦ, φονευθέν, ἐκδικηθήσεται, ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθέν. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οἶον τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ τὸν παῖδα ἢ τὸν βούν ἢ τὸν ἀγρόν. Οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις· ἐρρέθη γὰρ μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως· εἰδὲ μὴ γε, καὶ εὐορκήσης, ὅτι ἐπαινεθήσεται πᾶς ὁ ὁμνύων ἐν αὐτῷ. Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, ὅτι ὁ συκοφαντῶν πένητα παροξύνει τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν.

Κεφ. 4. Οὐ κακαλογήσεις· Μὴ ἀγάπα γὰρ, φησί, κακολογεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαρθῇ· οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις· ὁδοὶ γὰρ μνησικάκων εἰς θάνατον. Οὐκ ἔση δίγνωμος οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ ἰσχυρὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἴδια χεῖλη, καὶ ἀνὴρ γλωσσώδης οὐ κατευθυνθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενός· περὶ παντὸς

γὰρ λόγου ἄργοῦ δώσετε λόγον· οὐ ψεύσῃ· Ἀπολείς γάρ, φησί, πάντα τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος. Οὐκ ἔστι πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ· Οὐαὶ γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ πλεονεκτῶν τὸν πλησίον πλεονεξίαν κακὴν. Οὐκ ἔστι ὑποκριτής, ἵνα μὴ τὸ μέρος σου μετ' αὐτῶν θῇς.

Κεφ. 5. Οὐκ ἔστι κακοήθης, οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος· ὑπερηφάνοις γάρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτίσσεται. Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει, ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ κρίσις. Οὐ μισήσῃς πάντα ἄνθρωπον· ἐλεγμῶ ἐλέγξεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου καὶ οὐ λήψῃ δι' αὐτὸν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ Ἐλεγε σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε. Φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτῷ· Ἀπεχε γάρ, φησὶν, ἀπὸ ἀδίκου καὶ τρόμος οὐκ ἐγγίει σοι. Μὴ γίνου ἄργίλος, μηδὲ βύσκανος, μηδὲ ζηλωτής, μηδὲ μανικός, μηδὲ θρασύς, ἵνα μὴ πάθῃς τὰ τοῦ Κάϊν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαοὺλ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβ· ὅτι ὅς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ διὰ τὸ πρόκριτον αὐτὸν εὔρεθῆναι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ προκριθῆναι τὴν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ· ὅς δὲ τὸν ὅσιον Δαβὶδ ἐδίωκε ἐκώσαντα τὸν Γολιάθ τὸν φιλισταῖον, ζηλώσας ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χορευτριῶν εὐφημίᾳ· ὅς δὲ τοὺς δύο στρατάρχας ἀνείλε, τὸν Ἀβεννήρ τὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἀμεσσὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἰούδα.

Κεφ. 6. Μὴ γίνου οἰνοσκοπός, ὅτι ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς εἰδωλολατρείαν· Οἰώνισμα δέ, φησὶν ὁ Σαμουὴλ, ἁμαρτία ἐστί, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται οἰωνισμὸς ἐν Ἰακώβ οὐδὲ μαντεία ἐν Ἰσραὴλ· οὐκ ἔστι ἐπάδων ἢ περικαθαίρων τὸν υἱόν σου, οὐ κλυδωνεῖς, οὐδὲ οἰωνισθήσῃ, οὐδὲ ὀρνεοσκοπήσεις, οὐδὲ μαθήσῃ μαθήματα πονηρά· ταῦτα γάρ ἅπαντα καὶ ὁ νόμος ἀπέπε. Μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητὴς κακῶν, ὁδηγηθείσῃ, γὰρ εἰς ἀμετρίαν

ἁμαρτημάτων. Οὐκ ἔστι αἰσχρολόγος, οὐδὲ ῥιψό-
θαλμος, οὐδὲ μέθυσος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων πορνείαι καὶ
μοιχεῖαι γίνονται. Μὴ γίνου φιλάργυρος, ἵνα μὴ
ἀντὶ Θεοῦ δουλεύσης τῷ μαμωνᾷ. Μὴ γίνου κενό-
δοξος, μηδὲ μετέωρος, μηδὲ ὑψηλόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων
ἀπάντων ἀλαζονίαι γίνονται· μνησθητι τοῦ ἐιπόντος,
Κύριε, οὐχ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία μου, οὐδὲ ἐμετεωρίσθησαν
οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, οὐδὲ ἐπορεύθην ἐν μεγάλοις οὐδὲ ἐν
θαυμασίοις ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, εἰμὶ ἑταπεινοφρόνων.

Κεφ. 7. Μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος, μνησθεὶς τῆς τιμω-
ρίας, ἧς ὑπέστησαν οἱ καταγογγύσαντες Μωσέως.
Μὴ ἔσο αὐθάδης, μηδὲ ποιηρόφρων, μηδὲ σκληρο-
κάρδιος, μηδὲ θυμώδης, μηδὲ μικρόψυχος· πάντα γὰρ
ταῦτα ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς βλασφημίαν· ἴσθι δὲ πρᾶος ὡς
Μωϋσῆς καὶ Λαβίδ, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι
γῆν.

Κεφ. 8. Γίνου μακρόθυμος· ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος πολὺς
ἐν φρονήσει, ἐπεὶ περ ὀλιγόψυχος ἰσχυρῶς ἄφρων.
Γίνου ἐλεήμων· μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
ἐλεηθήσονται. Ἔσο ἄκακος, ἥσυχος, τρέμων τοὺς
λόγους τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν ὡς ὁ
φαρισαῖος· ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται,
καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βδέλυγμα παρὰ τῷ
Θεῷ. Οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος, ὅτι θράσυν
ἀνὴρ ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς κακά. Οὐ συμπορεύσῃ μετὰ
ἀφρόνων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σοφῶν καὶ δικαίων· ὁ συμπο-
ρευόμενος γὰρ σοφοῖς σοφὸς ἔσται, ὁ δὲ συμπορευό-
μενος ἄφροσι γνωσθήσεται. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι
πάθῃ εὐμενῶς δέχου καὶ τὰς περιστάσεις ἀλύπως,
εἰδὼς ὅτι μισθὸς παρὰ Θεοῦ σοι δοθήσεται ὡς τῷ
Ἰώβ καὶ τῷ Λαζάρῳ.

Κεφ. 9. Τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ δοξάζεις, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, τιμῆς δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἵτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναι σοι πρόξενον γινόμενον· ὅπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ Θεοῦ διδασκαλία, ἐκεῖ ὁ Θεὸς πάρεστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἡμέραν τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν ἁγίων, ἵν' ἐπαπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

Κεφ. 10. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους, μιηθῆῃς τῶν κορειτῶν. Εἰρηνεύσεις μαχομένους ὡς Μωσῆς συναλλάσσων εἰς φιλίαν. Κρινεῖς δικαίως· τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου ἡ κρίσις. Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξι ἐπὶ παραπτώματι, ὡς Ἡλίας καὶ Μιχαῖας τὸν Ἀχαιῖβ, καὶ Ἀβδεμέλεχ ὁ αἰθίοψ τὸν Σεδεκίαν καὶ Νάθαν τὸν Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἡρώδην.

Κεφ. 11. Μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου, εἰ ἔσται ἢ οὐ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐμοὶ Πέτρῳ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης Ὁλιγόπιστε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας; Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συστέλλων.

Κεφ. 12. Εἴαν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δός, ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ καὶ πίστεσιν ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι πτωχῷ, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώση γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἀνταποδότης· Ὁ ἐλεῶν γάρ, φησί, πτωχὸν Κυρίῳ δάνειζει, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δόμα αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ. Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ ἐνδεόμενον· Ὅς φράσει γάρ, φησί, τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰσακούσῃ τοῦ δεομένου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ εἰσακούων αὐτοῦ. Κοιωνήσεις εἰς πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· κοινὴ γάρ ἡ μετέληψις παρὰ Θεοῦ πᾶσιν

ἀνθρώποις παρεσκευάσθη. Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις αὐτοὺς τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ Παῖδευε γὰρ, φησί, τὸν υἱόν σου, οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται σοι εὐελπὺς.

Κεφ. 13. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκει τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν πεποιθόσιν ἐν πικρίᾳ ψυχῆς, μὴ ποτε στενάζωσιν ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἔσται σοι ὀργὴ παρὰ Θεοῦ· καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ δούλοι, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύποις Θεοῦ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ φόβῳ ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις.

Κεφ. 14. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν, καὶ πᾶν, ὃ ἐὰν ᾖ ἀρεστὸν Κυρίῳ, ποιήσεις· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλιπῇς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρέλαβες παρ' αὐτοῦ, μήτε προστιθεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οὐ προσθήσεις γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐλέγξῃ σε καὶ ψευδὴς γένη. Ἐξομολογήσῃ Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ σου τὰ ἁμαρτήματα σου καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσθήσεις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ σου, ὃς οὐ βούλεται τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μετάνοιαν.

Κεφ. 15. Τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα θεραπεύσεις ὡς αἰτίους σοι γενέσεως, ἵνα γενῇ μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἧς κύριος ὁ Θεός σου δίδωσί σοι· τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς σου μὴ ὑπερίδῃς· τοὺς γὰρ οἰκείους τοῦ ὑπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψει.

Κεφ. 16. Τὸν βασιλέα φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ χειροτονία· τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ τιμήσεις ὡς λειτουργοὺς Θεοῦ, ἔκδικοι γὰρ εἰσι πάσης ἀδικίας· οἷς ἀποτίσατε τέλος, φόρον καὶ πᾶσαν εἰσφορὰν ἐγγνωμόνως.

Κεφ. 17. Οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχήν σου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πονηρίας σου, πρὶν ἂν λύσῃς τὴν πικρίαν σου. Ἀὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς, ἣς γένοιτο ἐντὸς ὑμῶν εὑρεθῆναι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Κεφ. 18. Ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς τοῦ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἐν πράξεσι πονηραῖς θεωρουμένη· ἐν αὐτῇ ἄγνοια Θεοῦ καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν καὶ θολῶν καὶ ταραχῶν ἐπεισισαγωγὴ. οἱ ὧν φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, ἐπι-ορκίαι, ἐπιθυμίαι παράνομοι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολα-τρεῖαι, μαγείαι, φαρμακείαι, ἁρπαγαί, ψευδομαρ-τυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδίαι, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὑψηλοφροσύνη, ἀλαζονία, ἀφοβία, διωγμὸς ἀγαθῶν, ἀληθείας ἔχθρα, ψεύδους ἀγάπη, ἄγνοια δικαιοσύνης. Οἱ γὰρ τούτων ποιήται οὐ κολλῶνται ἀγαθῷ, οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ· ἀγρυπνοῦσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραότης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες, ἀντα-πόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀπο-στρεφόμενοι ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ὑπερόπται, πανθ-αμάρτητοι, ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

Κεφ. 19. Ὅρα μὴ τίς δε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσε-βείας· Οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς γάρ, φησὶν, ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεξιὰ ἢ αἰώνιον, ἢ αὖτις ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς εἰν πράσσης· οὐ γάρ, εἰ μὴ ἐκτριπῇς ἔξω τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ, δυσσεβήσεις.

Κεφ. 20. Περὶ δὲ βρωμάτων λέγει σοι ὁ Κύριος· Τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε καὶ πᾶν κρέας ἔδεσθε ὡς λάχανα χλόης, τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἐκχεεῖς· οὐ γὰρ τὰ εἰς-

ερχόμενα εἰς τὸ στόμα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα, λέγω δὴ βλασφημία, καταλαλιαὶ καὶ εἴτι τοιοῦτον. Σὺ δὲ φάγη τὸν μυελὸν τῆς γῆς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης· ὅτι εἴτι καλόν, αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴτι ἀγαθόν, αὐτοῦ· σίτος νεανίσκοις καὶ οἶνος εὐωδιάζων παρθένοις· τίς γὰρ φάγεται ἢ τίς πίεται παρὲς αὐτοῦ; Παραινεῖ δέ σοι καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ἑσδρας λέγων Πορεύεσθε καὶ φάγετε λιπάσματα καὶ πίετε γλυκ-
 ἄσματα καὶ μὴ λυπείσθε.

Κεφ. 21. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων φεύγετε, ἐπὶ τιμῇ γὰρ δαιμόνων θύουσι ταῦτα, ἐφ' ὃ βρεῖ δηλαδὴ τοῦ μόνου Θεοῦ, ὅπως μὴ γένησθε κοινωνοὶ δαιμόνων.

Κεφ. 22. Περὶ δὲ βαπτίσματος, ὧ ἐπίσκοπε ἢ πρεσβύτερε, ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον διεταξάμεθα, καὶ νῦν δὲ φάμεν ὅτι οὕτω βαπτίσεις, ὡς ὁ Κύριος διετάξατο ἡμῖν λέγων Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες, αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διδασκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν· τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος Πατρὸς, τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος Παρακλήτου. Χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ. ἵνα τὸ μὲν χρίσμα μετοχή ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σύμβολον τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγὶς τῶν συνθηκῶν. Εἰ δὲ μήτε ἔμαιον ἢ μήτε μύρον, ἀρκεῖ ὕδωρ καὶ πρὸς χρίσιν καὶ πρὸς σφραγίδα καὶ πρὸς ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἡτοὶ συναποθνήσκοντος. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος νηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτιζόμενος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, πρῶτον βαπτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον αὐλισθεὶς, μετέπειτα ἐνήστευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας

καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας. Ἐβαπτίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐνήστευσεν οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀπορρυπώσεως ἢ νηστείας χρεῖαν ἔχων ἢ καθάρσεως ὁ τῇ φύσει καθαρὸς καὶ ἅγιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ Ἰωαννῇ ἀλήθειαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται. Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν Κύριος οὐκ εἰς ἑαυτοῦ πάθος ἐβαπτίσατο ἢ θάνατον ἢ ἀνάστασιν (οὐδέπω γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐγεγόνει), ἀλλ' εἰς διάταξιν ἐτέραν, διὸ καὶ ἀπ' ἐξουσίας μετὰ τὸ βῆπτισμα νηστεύει ὡς κύριος Ἰωάννου· ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον μυούμενος πρότερον ὀφείλει νηστεῦσαι καὶ τότε βαπτίσασθαι (οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὸν συνταφέντα καὶ συναναστάντα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν κατηφεῖν), οὐ γὰρ κύριος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς διατάξεως τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος· ἐπειπερ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης, ὁ δὲ ὑπῆκοος.

Κεφ. 23. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἢ τὰς πέντε νηστεύσατε ἡμέρας, ἢ τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν· ὅτι τῇ μὲν τετράδι ἡ κρίσις ἐξῆλθεν ἢ κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, Ἰούδα χρήμασιν ἐπαγγειλαμένου τὴν προδοσίαν· τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν, ὅτι ἔπαθεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν αὐτῇ πάθος τὸ διὰ σταυροῦ ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου. Τὸ σάββατον μὲν τοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἐορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσεως. Ἐν δὲ μόνον σάββατον ὑμῖν φυλακτέον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τὸ τῆς Κυρίου ταφῆς, ὅπερ νηστεύειν προσῆκεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐορτάζειν· ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ γῆν τυγχάνει, ἰσχυρότερον τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ πένθος τῆς κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν χαρᾶς. ὅτι ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργημάτων φύσει τε καὶ ἀξία τιμιώτερος.

Κεφ. 24. Ὅταν δὲ προσεύχεσθε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διατάξατο, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. Τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε, προπαρασκευάζοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀξιούς τῆς υἰοθεσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἵνα μὴ, ἀναξίως ἡμῶν αὐτὸν πατέρα καλούντων, ὀνειδισθῇτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ποτε πρωτότοκος υἱὸς ἤκουσεν ὅτι Εἰ πατήρ εἰμι ἐγώ, ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα μου; καὶ εἰ Κύριός εἰμι ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ φόβος μου; δόξα γὰρ πατέρων ὁσιότης παίδων καὶ τιμὴ δεσποτῶν οἰκετῶν φόβος, ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ ἐναντίον ἀδοξία καὶ ἀναρχία· Δι' ὑμᾶς γάρ, φησί, τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

Κεφ. 25. Γίνεσθε δὲ πάντοτε εὐχάριστοι, ὡς πιστοὶ καὶ ἐγνώμονες δούλοι· περὶ μὲν τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτω λέγοντες “Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ζωῆς, ἣς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου, δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησας καὶ τῶν ὅλων προνοεῖς, ὃν καὶ ἀπέστειλας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, ὃν καὶ συνεχώρησας παθεῖν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, ὃν καὶ ἀναστήσας εὐδόκησας δοξάσαι καὶ ἐκάθισας ἐκ δεξιῶν σου, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐπηγγείλω ἡμῖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, Θεὲ αἰώνιε, ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο

διεσκορπισμένοι καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο εἰς ἄρτος, οὕτω
 συνάγαγέ σοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς
 γῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. "Ἐτι εὐχαριστοῦμεν, πάτερ
 ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
 ἐκχυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος, οὗ
 καὶ ἀντίτυπα ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦμεν, αὐτοῦ διαταξαμένου
 ἡμῖν καταγγέλλειν τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον· δι' αὐτοῦ γάρ
 σοι καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν." Μηδεὶς
 δὲ ἐσθιέτω ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀμυήτων, ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ
 βεβαπτισμένοι εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον. Εἰ
 δέ τις ἀμύητος κρύψας ἑαυτὸν μεταλάβῃ, κρίμα
 αἰώνιον φάγεται, ὅτι μὴ ὢν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίσ-
 τεως μετέλαβεν ὧν οὐ θέμις, εἰς τιμωρίαν ἑαυτοῦ·
 εἰ δέ τις κατὰ ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβοι, τοῦτον τάχιον
 στοιχειώσαντες μνήσατε, ὅπως μὴ καταφρονητῆς
 ἐξέλθοι.

Κεφ. 26. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν οὕτως εὐχαρι-
 στήσατε "Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ
 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός
 σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως
 καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἔδωκας
 ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. Σὺ, δέσποτα παν-
 τοκράτορ, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ὅλων, ὁ κτίσας τὸν κόσμον
 καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ νόμον κατεφύτευσας ἐν
 ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ πρὸς μετάληψιν προευτ-
 ρέπισας ἀνθρώποις· ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀμέμπτων
 πατέρων ἡμῶν, Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, τῶν
 πιστῶν δούλων σου· ὁ δυνατὸς Θεός, ὁ πιστὸς καὶ
 ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἀψευδὴς ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· ὁ ἀπο-
 στείλας ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν σου ἀνθρώποις
 συναναστραφῆναι ὡς ἄνθρωπον, Θεὸν ὄντα λόγον καὶ

ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν πλάνην πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δι' αὐτοῦ μνήσθητι τῆς ἀγίας σου ἐκκλησίας ταύτης, ἣν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ ῥῦσαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελείωσον αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, καὶ συνάγαγε πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ. Μαριναθα ὦσαννὰ τῷ νιῷ Δαβιδ, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Θεὸς κύριος ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί.” Εἴ τις ἅγιος, προσερχέσθω εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔστι, γινέσθω διὰ μετανοίας. Ἐπιτρέπετε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν εὐχαριστεῖν.

Κεφ. 27. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μύρου οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· “Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Θεὲ δημιουργέ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ μύρου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀθανάτου αἰῶνος οὗ ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.”

Ὅς ἐὰν ἐλθὼν οὕτως εὐχαριστῇ, προσδέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητὴν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσῃ παρ’ ἣν ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς δι’ ἡμῶν, τῷ τοιούτῳ μὴ συγχωρεῖτε εὐχαριστεῖν· ὑβρίζει γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸν Θεόν, ἥπερ δοξάζει.

Κεφ. 28. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δοκιμασθεῖς, οὕτω δεχέσθω· σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔχετε, καὶ δύνασθε γινῶναι δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν καὶ διακρίναι ψευδοδιδασκάλους διδασκάλων. Ἐλθόντι μέντοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐπιχορηγήσατε τὰ δέοντα· τῷ δὲ ψευδοδιδασκάλῳ, δώσετε μὲν τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν, οὐ παραδέξεσθε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλάνην, οὔτε μὴν συμπροσεύξεσθε αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ σύμμειανθῇτε αὐτῷ. Πᾶς

προφίτης ἀληθινὸς ἢ διδάσκαλος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς ὡς ἐργάτης λόγου δικαιοσύνης.

Κεφ. 29. Πᾶσιν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ, ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων δώσεις τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἵνα εὐλογηθῶσιν αἱ ἀποθήκαι τῶν ταμείων σου καὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια τῆς γῆς σου, καὶ στηριχθῇ σίτω καὶ οἶνω καὶ ἐλαίῳ, καὶ αὐξηθῇ τὰ βουκόλια τῶν βοῶν σου καὶ τὰ ποίμνια τῶν προβάτων σου· πᾶσαν δεκάτην δώσεις τῷ ὄρφανῷ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ, τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ τῷ προσηλύτῳ. Πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν ἄρτων θερμῶν, κεραμίου οἶνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἢ μέλιτος ἢ ἀκροδρόνων, σταφυλῆς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἀπαρχὴν δώσεις τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος τῷ ὄρφανῷ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ.

Κεφ. 30. Τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμέραν, τὴν κυριακὴν φαιμεν, συνέρχεσθε ἀδιαλείπτως, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐξομολογούμενοι ἐφ' οἷς εὐηργέτησεν ἡμῖς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ ῥυσάμενος ἀγνοίας, πλάνης, δεσμῶν· ὥπως ἄμεμπτος ἢ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν καὶ εὐανάφορος Θεῷ, τῷ εἰπόντι περὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὅτι Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ μοι προστευχθήσεται θυμίαμα καὶ θυσία καθαρὰ· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγώ εἰμι, λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

Κεφ. 31. Προχειρίσασθε δὲ ἐπισκόπους ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους, ἄνδρας εὐλαβεῖς, δικαίους, πρριεῖς, ἀφιλαργύρους, φιλαλήθεις, δοδοκιμασμένους, ὁσίους, ἀπροσωπολήπτους, δυναμένους διδάσκειν τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὀρθοτομοῦντας ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Κυρίου δόγμασιν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ τιμᾶτε

τούτους ὡς πατέρας, ὡς κυρίους, ὡς εὐεργέτας, ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναι αἰτίους.

Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ εἰρήνης. Πάντα τὰ προστεταγμένα ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου φυλάξαιτε. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν. Ἔστωσαν αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν πότε ἥξει, ἐσπέρας ἢ πρῶτ' ἢ ἡλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ μεσουκτίου· ἢ γὰρ ὥρα οὐ προσδοκῶσιν, ἐλεύσεται ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ἐὰν αὐτῷ ἀνοίξωσι, μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι εὐρέθησαν γρηγοροῦντες· ὅτι περιζώσεται καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς. Νήφετε οὖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε μὴ ὑπνῶσαι εἰς θάνατον· οὐ γὰρ ὀνήσει ὑμᾶς τὰ πρότερα κατορθώματα, ἐὰν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα ὑμῶν ἀποπλανηθῇτε τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἀληθοῦς.

Κεφ. 32. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς τοῦ λόγου, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη εἰς μῖσος· πληθυνθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν, μισήσουσι γὰρ ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ διώξουσι καὶ προδώσουσι. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρός, ὁ τοῦ ψεύδους προστάτης, ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ὁ διὰ χειλέων ἀναιρῶν ἀσεβῆ· καὶ πολλοὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες εἰς τέλος, οὗτοι σωθήσονται. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, εἴτα φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ἔσται δι' ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναβίωσις τῶν κεκοιμη-

μένων· καὶ τότε ἤξει ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας κατακρίναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον διάβολον καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ. Τότε ἀπελεύσονται οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κληρονομοῦντες ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν· καὶ χαρήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.”

THE DIDACHE

OR

TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

AS DISCOVERED IN MANUSCRIPT BY BRYENNIUS

The passages from Barnabas, Hermas, the Apostolic Constitutions, and the Epitome serve as an introduction to the Didache as discovered by Bryennius, and published at Constantinople from the Codex Hierosolymitanus. No other manuscript or version of it has been found, but there is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine manuscript of the eleventh century. It contains, besides the first and second Epistles of Clement, a complete text of the longer recension of Ignatius, "The Epistle of Barnabas," "The Synopsis of St. Chrysostom," and "The Teaching of the Apostles," which comes between the Clement and Ignatius.

After a good deal of consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the Didache is not an original work, but a compilation or series of excerpts from the treatises already quoted. Any one who will compare the Didache of Bryennius with the passages taken from Barnabas, Hermas, the *Judicium Petri*, and the Apostolic Constitutions, will find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the author of the Didache had these works in his hands, and compiled from them what he supposed to be the primitive doctrine of the Apostles; and the position of his work is not that of an original to an enlarged and completed copy, but that of a condensation and compilation from a number of other works. There seems some reason to suppose that the work thus composed underwent a further abbreviation, and that

the Didache discovered by Bryennius, which was no doubt the same as that mentioned by Nicephorus in the ninth century, was a shortened form of the Didache mentioned by Athanasius, as it does not correspond in length to the works with which he compared it, such as "The Shepherd of Hermas" or "The Book of Wisdom," and some mention of the names of the Apostles themselves would have been expected in it. In my own restoration I have endeavoured to replace what I supposed might have been found in the original Didache by giving the names of the Apostles, and bringing the work a little more into the form used at the assumed period, by supplying a commencement and conclusion in the style of the second century. For this purpose the *Epitome* or *Judicium Petri* has chiefly been used, but a complete collation has also been made of the parallel passages in Barnabas and the Apostolic Constitutions.

Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

The passages marked in brackets [] are not found in any of the preceding works.

- I. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Barnabas xviii.
2. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.¹ Πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει.² Apostol. Constitut. vii. i.
3. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη. Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, ἠστυεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.³ Ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. Epitome i.
4. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. εἰάν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν Hermas Mand. i., ii.
- 15 σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγγρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἓν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα.⁴ εἰάν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σου τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει

¹ Matt. xxii. 40.

² Tob. iv. 15.

³ Luke vi. 28, 32.

⁴ Matt. v. 39 sq.

[οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.] 5. παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει.¹ πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ [ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.² μακάριος ὁ δίδους κατὰ τὴν ἐπιτολήν· ἀθῶος γὰρ ἐστίν. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος ἔσται· 5 ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνα τί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.³ 6. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· “Ἰδρυσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς 10 τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς.”]

Hermas
Mand. viii.,
ix.

II. [Δευτέρᾳ δὲ ἐντολῇ τῆς διδασκαλίας.] Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φοιεῖς τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς, 15 οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις.⁴ 2. οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία. οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός [ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει]. 20 3. οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. 4. οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν ποιηρίαν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν 25 ψυχὴν σου.

III. Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς ποιηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτῷ. 2. μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον· μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ

¹ Luke vi. 29.

³ Matt. v. 26.

² Hermas.

⁴ Exod. xx. 13 sq.

ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων
 φόνοι γεννῶνται. 3. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυ-
 μητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν·
 μηδὲ αἰσχρολογος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ
 5 τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται. 4. Τέκνον
 μου, μὴ γίνου οἰνοσκοπός· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν
 εἰδωλολατρείαν· μηδὲ ἐπαιιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικός
 μηδὲ περικαθαίρων μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ
 10 τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρεία γεννᾶται. 5. Τέκνον
 μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς
 τὴν κλοπὴν· μηδὲ φιλόργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ
 γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. 6. Τέκνον
 μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυστος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλαρ-
 φημίαν· μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ
 15 τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. 7. Ἴσθι
 δὲ πραῦς· ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.¹
 γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος
 καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὗς
 ἤκουσας.² 8. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ
 20 ψυχῇ σου θράσος. οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου
 μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀνασ-
 τραφήσῃ. 9. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς
 ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

IV. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον
 25 τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. τιμήσεις δὲ
 αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ
 κύριός ἐστιν. 2. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ
 πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις
 αὐτῶν. οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους·
 30 3. Κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγχαι ἐπὶ

¹ Matt. v. 4.² Ies. lxvi. 2.

Hermas
Mand. ix.

παραπτώμασιν. 4. Οὐ διψυχῆσεις, πότερον ἔσοαι
ἢ οὐ. 5. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων
τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν· εἴαν ἔχῃς, διὰ
τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. οὐ
διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώση γὰρ 5
τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. οὐκ
ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ
πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι. εἰ
γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθιναίῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσω μᾶλλον
ἐν τοῖς θινητοῖς. 6. Οὐκ ἄρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ 10
τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ
νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ. 7. Οὐκ
ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίῳ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθή-
σονται τὸν ἐπὶ ἁμφοτέροις θεόν· [οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται 15
κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα
ἡτοίμασεν]. 8. Ὑμεῖς δέ, οἱ δούλοι, ὑποταγήσεσθε
τοῖς κυρίοις ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ.
9. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ^{ἀποκρίσιν} ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστόν
τῷ κυρίῳ. οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις
δὲ ἃ ^{παρελάβες} παρελάβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ^{ἀφαιρῶν} ἀφαιρῶν.
10. [Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά
σου καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν συν-
ειδήσει πονηρᾷ.] αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

Barnabas
xx.
Apostol. 2
Constitut.
vii. 18.

V. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη [πρωτον 25
πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρας μεστή] 2. φόνοι,
μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι,
μαγείαι, φαρμακείαι, ἄρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑπο-
κρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία,
ἀπάθεια, πλεονεξία, ἀσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρα-
σύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία 3. διώκεται ἀγαθῶν, μισ-

οὔντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεύδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες
 μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει
 δικαίᾳ, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ
 πονηρὸν. 4. ὣν μακρὰν πρᾶϋτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια
 5 ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες
 πτωχόν, οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες
 τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς
 πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον,
 καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι,
 10 πεινῶν ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι ῥυσθεῖτε,
 τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

VI. Ὅρα, μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ [ταύτης
 τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπειδὴ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε δι-
 δάσκει. 2. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν
 15 ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ
 δύνῃ τοῦτο ποίει.]

3. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως [ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον
 ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γὰρ
 ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν.]

20 VII. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, [οὕτω βαπτίσατε·
 ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος
 ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο
 ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ ἐν θερμῷ.

25 εἰ δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρεῖς
 ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.]

2. πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω [ὁ βαπτί-
 ζων] καὶ οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι [καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι δύνανται.
 κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς
 30 ἡμέρας.]

VIII. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν

Apostol.
Constitut.
vii. 23-24.

ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη. ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. 2. μηδὲ προσέχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.¹ , Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου. ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ 10 ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

Apostol.
Constitut.
vii. 25.

IX. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, [οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου·[†]] , Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, 15 πάτερ ἡμῶν, [ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου], ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· [σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 2. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ~~κλίσματος~~ κλίσματος·] , Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ 20 τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο [κλάσμα] διεσκορπισμένον [ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων] καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ 25 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω [μηδὲ πῖετω] ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου. [καὶ γὰρ περὶ ~~αὐτοῦ~~ αὐτοῦ εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος· Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κύσιν·²]

30

¹ Matt. vi. 7-13.

² Matt. vii. 6.

Χ. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως, εὐχαριστήσατε
 .Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου
 ὀνόματός σου, ^{ὡς} οὐ κατεσκήνωσας [ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις]
 ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας,
 5 ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· [σοὶ ἡ
 δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 2. σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ^{martin}
^{greek} [ἐκτίσας τὰ πάντα ἐνέκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου τροφήν ^{miat}
 τε καὶ ^{greek} ποτόν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν,
 ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν
 10 τροφήν καὶ ποτόν καὶ ζῶν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός
 σου. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς
 εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.] 3. μνήσθητι, κύριε,
 τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς
 πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου καὶ
 15 σύναξον αὐτὴν [ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων], τὴν
 ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας
 αὐτῇ· [ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας.] 4. [ἐλθέτω χάρις, καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κοσμος
 οὗτος.] ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ.¹ εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν,
 20 ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστί, μετανοείτω. μαρاناθά.
 [ἀμήν.] 5. τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχα-
 ριστεῖν [ὅσα θέλουσιν].

XI. ^aὉς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν [διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα ^{Apostol.}
 τὰ προειρημένα], δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ [αὐτὸς ὁ ^{Constitut.}
 25 διδάσκων στραφεῖς] διδάσκη ἄλλην διδαχὴν [εἰς το
 καταλύσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι
 δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον].
 2. [περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ
 τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιήσατε. πᾶς δὲ
 30 ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος.

¹ Matt. xxi. 9.

μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν, εἴν δὲ ἡ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·
 τρεῖς δὲ εἴν μείνη, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. ἐξερχόμενος
 δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον, ἕως
 οὐ αἰλισθῇ· εἴν δὲ ἀργύριον αὐτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης
 ἐστί.* 3. Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι 5
 οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία
 ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται¹· οὐ
 πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ'
 εἴν ἔχη τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων
 γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. 10
 4. Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι
 οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς· εἰ δὲ μίγῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης
 ἐστί. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰ
 ἂ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. 5. Πᾶς
 δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινὸς μυῶν εἰς μυσ- 15
 τήριον κοσμικῶν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα
 αὐτὸς ποιεῖ. οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ
 ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι
 προφήται. 6. Ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι, Ὁς μοι
 ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερα τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· εἴν δὲ 20
 περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν
 κρινέτω].

XII. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος [ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου]
 δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε.
 σύνεστιν γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. 2. Εἰ μὲν 25
 παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον
 δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας,
 εἴν ἡ ἀνάγκη. 3. Εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθίσαι,
 τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει
 τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεστιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ 30

* Peculiar to the Didache.

¹ Matt. xii. 31 sq.

ἀργός μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται Χριστιανός. εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι προσέχετε ἀπο τῶν τοιούτων].

XIII. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός [θέλων καθίσαι]
 5 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτός, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης, τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 2. Πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γενημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν [τοῖς προφήταις. αὐτοὶ
 10 γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν]. [ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. 3. Ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῇς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. ὡσαύτως κεράμιον] οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου [ἀνοίξας τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις]. ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ
 15 παντὸς κτήματος [λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν, ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν].

XIV. Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες [κλά- Apostol. Constitut. vii. 30.
 σατε ἄρτον] καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε [προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ.
 12. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὐ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. 3. Αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου], ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθάραν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας
 25 εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.¹

XV. χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραιεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους.³ ὑμῖν γὰρ
 30 λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προ-

¹ Mal. i. 11, 14.

Apostol.
Constitut.
vii. 31.

φητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδῃτε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων]. 2. Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' [ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ].¹ [καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω 5 μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκούεσθω, ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ. 3. Τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ἀμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὺς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν].²

Apostol.
Constitut.
vii. 31.

XVI. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι 10 ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλινέσθωσαν,³ [ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί.] οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.⁴ 2. [Πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν]. οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς 15 πίστεως ὑμῶν, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφηταὶ καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος· αἰξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν 20 ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσιν καὶ παραδώσουσι. 4. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος [ὥς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος. 5. Τότε ἦξει ἡ κρίσις τῶν 25 ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας,] καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ [καὶ ἀπολοῦνται,] οἱ δὲ ὑπομειννῶντες [ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν] σωθήσονται [ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος]. 6. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται [τὰ

Apostol.
Constitut.
vii. 31.

¹ Matt. xviii. 15-17.

³ Luke xii. 35.

² Matt. vi. 2.

⁴ Matt. xxiv. 42, 44.

σημεία τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν
οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον] φωνῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ [τρίτον
ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη].
Ἡξεί ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ.¹ [τότε
5 ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν
νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.]

¹ Zach. xiv. 5.

THE DIDACHE

OR

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

RESTORED TO ITS ORIGINAL STATE

Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰωάννης καὶ Ματθαῖος καὶ Πέτρος
καὶ Ἀνδρέας καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰάκωβος
καὶ Ναθαναὴλ καὶ Θωμᾶς καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Βαρθολο-
μαῖος καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. 5

Κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ σωτῆρος, συναθροισθέντων ἡμῶν καθὼς διέταξε
πρὸ τοῦ—Μέλλετε κληροῦσθαι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, κατα-
λογίσασθαι τόπων ἀριθμοὺς, ἐπισκόπων ἀξίας, πρεσ-
βυτέρων ἑδρας, διακόνων παρεδρίας, ἀναγνωστῶν 10
νουνεχίας, χηρῶν ἀνεγκλησίας, καὶ ὅσα δέοι πρὸς
θεμελίωσιν ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα τύπον τῶν ἐπουρανίων
εἰδότες φυλάσσωνται ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀστοχήματος,
εἰδότες ὅτι λόγον ὑφέξουσιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ
τῆς κρίσεως περὶ ὧν ἀκούσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν—καὶ 15
ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμψασθαι τοὺς λόγους εἰς ὅλην
τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔδοξεν οὖν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς
ἀδελφότητος, καὶ νουθεσίαν ἐκάστω, ὡς ὁ Κύριος
ἀπεκάλυψε κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος
ἀγίου, μνησθεῖσι λόγου ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν. 20

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν, Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἰδότες ὅτι λόγον
ὑφέξομεν περὶ τῶν διατεταγμένων ἡμῖν, εἰς ἐνὸς πρό-

σωπον μὴ λαμβάνωμεν, ἀλλ' εἴαν τις δοκῇ, συμφέρον ἀντιλέγειν, ἀντιλεγέσθω αὐτῷ.

Ἔδοξε δὲ πᾶσι πρῶτον Ἰωάννην εἰπεῖν.

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ
 5 μία τοῦ θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο
 ὁδῶν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη. πρῶτον,
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιησαντά σε ἐξ ὅλης τῆς
 καρδίας σου, καὶ δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ
 10 θανάτου, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη. δεύτερον, ἀγαπή-
 σεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ
 δευτέρα. πάντα δὲ ὅσα εἰς θελήσης μὴ γένεσθαί σοι,
 καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει. τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδασκαλία
 ἐστὶν αὕτη. Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, καὶ
 15 προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ
 τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. ποία γὰρ χάρις, εἰς ἀγαπᾶτε
 τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ
 ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς,
 καὶ οὐκ ἐξετε ἐχθρόν. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ
 20 κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· εἰς τις σοι δῶ ράπισμα εἰς τὴν
 δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ
 ἔσῃ, τέλειος· εἰς ἀγαρέψῃ, σέ τις μίλιον ἐν, ὑπάγε
 μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. εἰς ἄρῃ, τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου δὸς
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· εἰς λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σου τὸ σόν,
 μὴ ἀπαίτει, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί
 25 σε δίδου, καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι
 ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. μακάριος ὁ δίδους
 κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος γὰρ ἐστίν.

Οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ λαμβάνοντι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων
 λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων
 30 δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί, ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ
 γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ

ἐξελεύσεται ἐκείθεν μεχρις οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κωδράντην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὴ εἴρηται. Ἰδρωσάτω ἢ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χειράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς.

Ματθαῖος εἶπε, πάντα ὅσα μὴ θέλεις σοι γενέσ- 5
θαι, σὺ μὴδὲ ἄλλω ποιήσεις. τούτων δὲ τῶν λογόν
τὴν διδαχὴν εἶπε, ἀδελφε Πέτρε.

Πέτρος εἶπεν. Ὁυ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ
πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνοι
ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ γέννηθεν ἀποκτενεῖς, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ 10
μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις,
οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις. οὐκ ἔση δίγνω-
μος, οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος, παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ
διγλωσσία. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, οὐκ
ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐδὲ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεσ- 15
τωμένος πράξει. οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης, οὐδὲ ἄρπιξ,
οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής, οὐδὲ κακοίθις, οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος, οὐ
λήψῃ βουλήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίου σου. οὐ
μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλεγεῖς, οὓς
δὲ ἐλεήσεις, περὶ ὧν δὲ προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις 20
ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

Ἀνδρέας εἶπε. Τέκνον μου φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντός
πονηροῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτῷ, μὴ γίνου
ὀργίλος, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς φόνον· μὴ γίνου
ζηλωτής, μὴδὲ ἐρίστικος, μὴδὲ θυμικός. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων 25
ἀπάντων φόνος γεννᾶται.

Φίλιππος εἶπε. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής.
ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν. ὁ θυμὸς
ὑμῶν μέτρον ἔχτω, καὶ ἐν βραχεὶ διαστήματι αὐτὸν
ἡνιοχεῖτε καὶ ἀνακρούετε, ἵνα μὴ ἐμβάλλῃ ὑμᾶς εἰς 30
ἔργον πονηρόν. θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡδονὴ πονηρά ἐπι-

πολὺ παραμένοντα, κατὰ ἐπιτάσιν δαιμόνια γίνεται, καὶ ὅταν ἐπιστρέψῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἰδαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, αὐτοῦ, καὶ γίνονται μείζονες καὶ ἀπάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔργα ἄδικα, καὶ ἐπιγελῶσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ
5 ἡδονταὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Σίμων εἶπε. Τέκνον μὴ γίνου αἰσχρολόγος, μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος, ἐκ γὰρ τουτῶν ἀπάντων μοιχείαι γεννῶνται.

Ἰάκωβος εἶπε. Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκοπός,
10 ἐπεὶδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν, μηδὲ ἐπαισιδός μηδὲ μαθηματικός, μηδὲ περικαθαίρων· μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ εἶδεναι, μηδὲ ἀκούειν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπαντων εἰδωλολατρεῖαι γεννῶνται.

Ναθαναὴλ εἶπε. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης·
15 ἐπεὶδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν· μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος, ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται, τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυστος, ἐπεὶδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν. μηδὲ αὐθάδης, μηδὲ πονηρόφρων, ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται.
20 ἴσθι δὲ πρᾶνς, ἐπεὶδὴ οἱ πρᾶεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. γίνου μακρόθυμος, ἐλεήμων, εἰρηνοποιός, καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀπο παντὸς κακοῦ, ἄκακος, καὶ ἡσύχιος, ἀγαθός, καὶ φυλάσσω καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας. οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν, οὐδὲ δώσεις
25 τῇ, ψυχῇ, σου θράσος, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ, τῇ ψυχῇ, σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ, τὰ δὲ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδεξῇ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

30 Θωμᾶς εἶπε. Τέκνον μου, τὸν λαλοῦντα τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ

δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ σφραγίδα, ἀγαπήσεις ὡς
 κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, μνησθήσῃ, δὲ αὐτοῦ νύκτα καὶ
 ἡμέραν, τιμήσεις αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν Κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ
 Κυριότης λαλεῖται ἐκεῖ ὁ Κύριός ἐστιν. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ
 τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς 5
 ἁγίους ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ, τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν, τιμήσεις
 αὐτὸν καθ' ὃ δυνατὸς εἶ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδρωτός σου, καὶ ἐκ
 τοῦ πόνου τῶν χειρῶν σου. εἰ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος δι' αὐτοῦ
 ἠξιώσέ σοι δοθῆναι πνευματικὴν τροφήν, καὶ ποτὸν,
 καὶ ζῶν αἰώνιον, σὺ ὀφείλεις πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν φθαρ- 10
 τὴν καὶ πρόσκαιρον προσφέρειν τροφήν. ἄξιός γάρ ὁ
 ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις,
 καὶ οὐδεὶς φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ
 οὐκ ἐσθίει.

Κηφᾶς εἶπεν, οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα, εἰρηνεύσεις 15
 δὲ μαχομένους. κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ, πρόσωπόν
 τινα ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν, οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει
 πλοῦτος παρὰ Κυρίῳ, οὐδὲ κάλλος ὠφελεῖ, ἀλλὰ
 ἰσότης ἐστὶ πάντων παρ' αὐτῷ. ἐν προσευχῇ σου μὴ
 διψυχῆσῃς πότερον ἔσται, ἢ οὐ. μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ 20
 λαβεῖν ἐκτέινων τας χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν.
 εἰς ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν τῶν
 ἁμαρτιῶν σου. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογ-
 γύσεις. γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς
 ἀνταποδότης. οὐκ αποστραφήσῃ, ἐνδεόμενον, κοινωή- 25
 σεις δὲ ἀπάντων τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια
 εἶναι. εἰ γὰρ εἰ τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινῶναι ἐστε, πόσῳ
 μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς.

Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρα σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ
 τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν 30
 φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ. οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκη,

τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίσουντι, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου.
μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' αμφοτέροις θεόν.
οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι. ἀλλ' ἐφ'
οἷς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δούλοι ὑποτα-
5 γήσθεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν, ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ
καὶ φόβῳ. μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ
ἄρεστόν τῳ κυρίῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς
Κυρίου. φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες μητὲ προστιθεῖς
μητὲ ἀφαιρῶν, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑξομολογήσῃ, τὰ παραπ-
10 τώματα σου, καὶ οὐ προσελευσῇ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου
ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. Ἡ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη. πρῶτον πάντων
πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρας μεστή· φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπι-
θυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖοι, μαγεῖαι,
15 φαρμακεῖαι, ἄρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις,
διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεο-
νεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασυτης, ὕψος, ἀλα-
ζονεία. διώκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες
ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολ-
20 λώμενοι ἀγαθῶ, οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαία, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ
εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν, ὧν μακρὸν πρᾶγματος
καὶ ὑπομοιή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπό-
δομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ κατα-
πονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς,
25 φορεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφό-
μενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον,
πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθα-
μάρτητοι, ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

Ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς
30 διδασχῆς. ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
διηκίται βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τὸν Κυρίου τέλειος

ἔση, εἰ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνη τοῦτο ποίει· περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων λίαν πρόσεχε, λατρεία γὰρ ἔστε θεῶν νεκρῶν.

Βαρθολομαῖος εἶπεν. Ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὥς ἔτι καιρὸς ἔστι, καὶ ἔχετε εἰς οὓς ἐργάζεσθε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, μὴ ἐκλείπετε ἐν μηδενί ἐξ οὗ ἂν ἔχητε· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ συναπολείται πάντα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ, ἥξει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι ἀγαθοί, διδασκτοί. φυλάξεις ἅπερ ἔλαβες. μήτε προσθεῖς μήτε ὑφαιρῶν.

Πέτρος εἶπεν. Ἀδελφοί, τὰ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν νοουθεσιῶν αἱ γραφαὶ διδάσκουσιν. ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτὴν ἐκελεύσθημεν διατάξωμεν.

Περὶ τοῦ βαπτισματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε. ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον, εἰ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ, εἰ δὲ ἀμφοτέρα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ποὺ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται. κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη. ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν. μὴδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὥς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομα

σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γεινηθίτω τὸ θελημα σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ
 5 μὴ εἰσενέγχῃς ἡμῖς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε. πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Ἐυχαριστοῦμεν σοι,
 10 Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος. Ἐυχαριστοῦμεν σοι. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός
 15 σου. σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν. οὕτω συναχθίτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπο τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς
 20 τοὺς αἰῶνας. μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μὴδε πίετω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτον εἶρηκεν ὁ Κύριος· μὴ δῶτέ τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε.
 25 Ἐυχαριστοῦμεν σοι, Πάτερ ἄγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγίου ὀνόματος σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθυνασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ἐκτίσας
 30 τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν. ἵνα σοι

εὐχαριστήσωσιν. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν
 καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου. Πρὸ
 πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι ὅτι δυνάτος εἶ, σοι ἡ δόξα
 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μνήσθητε, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησιάς σου
 τοῦ ρύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ, καὶ τελεῖω- 5
 σαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ συναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ
 τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν
 βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις
 καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελ-
 θέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. ὡσαννά τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ· εἴ τις 10
 ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστὶν, μετανοείτω·
 μαρاناθά. ἀμήν. τοῖς δὲ προορίταις ἐπιτρέπετε
 εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν. ὅς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ
 ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν. ἐὰν
 δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς διδάσκη, ἄλλην διδαχὴν 15
 εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι προειρημένα μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ
 το προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γινῶσιν Κυρίου, δέξασθε
 αὐτόν ὡς Κύριον· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προ-
 φητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὕτω ποιή-
 σατε. πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς 20
 δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος. μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν, ἐὰν δὲ
 ᾗ χρεῖα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην. τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευ-
 δοπροφήτης ἐστίν. ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος
 μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ αὐλίσθῃ· ἐὰν
 δὲ, ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. Καὶ πάντα 25
 προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσσετε οὐδὲ
 διακρινεῖτε. πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη
 δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν
 ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρό-
 πους Κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται 30
 ὁ ψευδοπραφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης· καὶ πᾶς προ-

φήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

- 5 Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθησεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν, ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται. ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι, δὸς μοὲ
 10 ἄργύρια ἢ ἑτερά τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθι αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτόν κρινέτω. πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου δεχθήτω, ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γινώσεσθε· συνέσιν γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιάν καὶ ἀριστεράν, εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν
 15 ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσα δύνασθε. οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ἢ ἀνάγκη, εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσαι, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε πῶς μὴ ἄργός μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται χρισ-
 20 τινός. Ἐἰ δὲ οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι. προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιός καὶ αὐτός, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης, τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.
 25 πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων, λαβὼν δώσεις τοῖς προφήταις, αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑμῶν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς. τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. ὡσαύτως
 30 κεριάμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις. ἀργυρίου καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ,

παντός κτήματος λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη.
δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ Κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε
ἄρτον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προσεξομολογησάμενοι
τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν 5
ἦ, πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων
αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ
κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ρηθεῖσα ὑπὸ
Κυρίου, ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι
θυσίαν καθάραν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει Κύριος, 10
καὶ τό ὄνομα μου θαυμαστον ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. χειρο-
τομήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους
τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργοὺς καὶ ἀλη-
θεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους. ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ
αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων, 15
μὴ οὖν ὑπεριδῆτε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι
ὑμῶν, μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. ἐχέγχετε
δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ. ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ
εὐαγγελίῳ, καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου
μηδεὶς λαλείτω, μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκούετω, ἕως οὗ 20
μετανοήσῃ, τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας
καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν
τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν, οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν
μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλνέσθωσαν. 25
ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί, οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ
ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται. πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε.
ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν, οὐ γὰρ
ᾠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, εἰ
μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς 30
ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται

καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς
 λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται. εἰς μῖσος, αὐξα-
 νούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ
 διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ
 5 κοσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ
 τερατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος.
 Τότε ἦξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν
 τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ
 10 ἀπολύνονται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν
 σωθήσονται ὑπο αὐτοῦ τὸν καταθέματος. καὶ τότε
 φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας. πρῶτον, σημεῖον
 ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωινῆς σάλπιγγος,
 καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, οὐ πάντος ἀλλ' ὡς
 15 ἐρρέθη· ἦξει ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ'
 αὐτοῦ. τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν Κύριον ἐρχόμενον
 ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐχ ὡς ἐξουσίαν τινὸς ἔχοντες
 πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ' ἐπιταγὴν ἔχοντες παρὰ Κυρίου.
 20 ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς φυλάξαι τὰς ἐντολάς, μηδὲν ἀφαι-
 ροῦντας ἢ προστιθέντας, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου
 ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

TRANSLATION
OF
THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES
AS GIVEN IN THE EDITION OF BRYENNIUS

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

I. THERE are two paths, one of life and one of death, and the difference is great between the two paths.

Now the path of life is this—first, thou shalt love the God who made thee, thy neighbour as thyself, and all things that thou wouldest not should be done unto thee, do not thou unto another.¹ And the doctrine of these maxims is as follows. Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies.² Fast on behalf of those that persecute you ; for what thank is there if ye love them that love you ? do not even the Gentiles do the same ? But do ye love them that hate you, and ye will not have an enemy. Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts.³ If any one give thee a blow on thy right cheek, turn unto him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect ; if any one compel thee to go a mile, go with him two ; if a man take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also ; if a man take from thee what is thine, ask not for it again, for neither art thou able to do so.⁴ Give to every one that asketh of thee, and ask not again, for the Father wishes that from his own gifts there should

¹ Matt. xxv. 40.

² Luke vi. 28.

³ Matt. v. 29.

⁴ Luke vi. 29.

be given to all. Blessed is he who giveth according to the commandment, for he is free from guilt; but woe unto him that receiveth. For if a man receive being in need, he shall be free from guilt; but he who receiveth when not in need, shall pay a penalty as to why he received and for what purpose; and when he is in tribulation he shall be examined concerning the things that he has done, and shall not depart thence until he has paid the last farthing.¹ For of a truth it has been said on these matters, Let thy almsgiving abide in thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou hast given.

II. But the second commandment of the teaching is this. Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not corrupt youth; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not use soothsaying; thou shalt not practise sorcery; thou shalt not kill a child by abortion, neither shalt thou slay it when born; thou shalt not covet the goods of thy neighbour; thou shalt not commit perjury; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not speak evil; thou shalt not bear malice; thou shalt not be double-minded or double-tongued, for to be double-tongued is the snare of death. Thy speech shall not be false or empty, but concerned with action. Thou shalt not be covetous, or rapacious, or hypocritical, or malicious, or proud; thou shalt not take up an evil design against thy neighbour; thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt confute, concerning some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love beyond thine own soul.

III. My child, fly from everything that is evil, and from everything that is like to it. Be not wrathful, for

¹ Matt. v. 26.

wrath leadeth unto slaughter ; be not jealous, or contentious, or quarrelsome, for from all these things slaughter ensues. My child, be not lustful, for lust leadeth unto fornication ; be not a filthy talker ; be not a lifter up of the eye, for from all these things come adulteries. My child, be not an observer of omens, since it leadeth to idolatry, nor a user of spells, nor an astrologer, nor a travelling purifier, nor wish to see these things, for from all these things idolatry ariseth. My child, be not a liar, for lying leadeth unto theft ; be not covetous or conceited, for from all these things thefts arise. My child, be not a murmurer, since it leadeth unto blasphemy ; be not self-willed or evil-minded, for from all these things blasphemies are produced ; but be thou meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth ;¹ be thou long-suffering, and compassionate, and harmless, and peaceable, and good, and fearing alway the words that thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou put boldness into thy soul. Thy soul shall not be joined unto the lofty, but thou shalt walk with the just and humble. Accept the things that happen to thee as good, knowing that without God nothing happens.

IV. My child, thou shalt remember both night and day him that speaketh unto thee the Word of God ; thou shalt honour him as thou dost the Lord, for where the teaching of the Lord is given, there is the Lord ; thou shalt seek out day by day the favour of the saints, that thou mayest rest in their words ; thou shalt not desire schism, but shalt set at peace them that contend ; thou shalt judge righteously ; thou shalt not accept the

¹ Matt. v. 5.

person of any one to convict him of transgression ; thou shalt not doubt whether a thing shall be or not. Be not a stretcher out of thy hand to receive, and a drawer of it back in giving. If thou hast, give by means of thy hands a redemption for thy sins. Thou shalt not doubt to give, neither shalt thou murmur when giving; for thou shouldest know who is the fair recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in need, but shalt share with thy brother in all things, and shalt not say that things are thine own ; for if ye are partners in what is immortal, how much more in what is mortal ? Thou shalt not remove thine heart from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth shalt teach them the fear of God. Thou shalt not command with bitterness thy servant or thy handmaid, who hope in the same God as thyself, lest they fear not in consequence the God who is over both ; for he cometh not to call with respect of persons, but those whom the Spirit hath prepared. And do ye servants submit yourselves to **your masters**¹ with reverence and fear, as being the type of God. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything that is not pleasing to God ; thou shalt not abandon the commandments of the Lord, but shalt guard that which thou hast received, neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom ; thou shalt confess thy transgressions in the church, and shalt not come unto prayer with an evil conscience. This is the path of life.

V. But the path of death is this. First of all, it is evil and full of cursing ; there are found murders, adulteries, lusts, fornication, thefts, idolatries, soothsaying,

¹ Colos. iii. 22 ; Ephes. vi. 5.

sorceries, robberies, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-mindedness, craft, pride, malice, self-will, covetousness, filthy talking, jealousy, audacity, arrogance; there are they who persecute the good—lovers of a lie, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to the good nor to righteous judgment, watching not for the good but for the bad, from whom meekness and patience are afar off, loving things that are vain, following after recompense, having no compassion on the needy, nor labouring for him that is in trouble, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, corrupters of the image of God, who turn away from him that is in need, who oppress him that is in trouble, unjust judges of the poor, erring in all things. From all these, children, may ye be delivered.

VI. See that no one make thee to err from this path of doctrine, since he who doeth so teacheth thee apart from God. If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do. But concerning meat, bear that which thou art able to do. But keep with care from things sacrificed to idols, for it is the worship of the infernal deities.

VII. But concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: having first recited all these precepts, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in running water; but if thou hast not running water, baptize in some other water, and if thou canst not baptize in cold, in warm water; but if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. But before the baptism, let him who baptizeth and he who

is baptized fast previously, and any others who may be able. And thou shalt command him who is baptized to fast one or two days before.

VIII. But as for your fasts, let them not be with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week, but do ye fast on the fourth and sixth days. Neither pray ye as the hypocrites,¹ but as the Lord hath commanded in his Gospel so pray ye: Our Father in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil: for thine is the power, and the glory, for ever.² Thrice a day pray ye in this fashion.

IX. But concerning the Eucharist, after this fashion give ye thanks. First, concerning the cup. We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine, David thy Son, which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus Christ thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever. And concerning the broken bread. We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever. As this broken bread was once scattered on the mountains, and after it had been brought together became one, so may thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom; for thine is the glory, and the power, through Jesus Christ, for ever. And let none eat or drink of your Eucharist but such as have been baptized into the name of the Lord, for of a truth the Lord hath

¹ Matt. vi. 7, 9.

² Luke xi. 2.

said concerning this, Give not that which is holy unto dogs.¹

X. But after it has been completed, so pray ye. We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for the sake of thy name, and hast given both meat and drink for men to enjoy, that we might give thanks unto thee, but to us thou hast given spiritual meat and drink, and life everlasting, through thy Son. Above all, we thank thee that thou art able to save; to thee be the glory for ever. Remember, Lord, thy Church, to redeem it from every evil, and to perfect it in thy love, and gather it together from the four winds, even that which has been sanctified for thy kingdom which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the kingdom and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the Son of David.² If any one is holy, let him come (to the Eucharist); if any one is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen. But charge the prophets to give thanks, so far as they are willing to do so.

XI. Whosoever, therefore, shall come and teach you all these things aforesaid, him do ye receive; but if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine with a view to subvert you, hearken not to him; but if he come to add to your righteousness, and the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But concerning the apostles and prophets, thus do ye according to the

¹ Matt. vii. 6.

² Matt. xxi. 9.

doctrine of the Gospel. Let every apostle who cometh unto you be received as the Lord. He will remain one day, and if it be necessary, a second ; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. And let the apostle when departing take nothing but bread until he arrive at his resting-place ; but if he ask for money, he is a false prophet. And ye shall not attempt or dispute with any prophet who speaketh in the spirit ; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven.¹ But not every one who speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but he is so who hath the disposition of the Lord ; by their disposition they therefore shall be known, the false prophet and the prophet. And every prophet who ordereth in the spirit that a table shall be laid, shall not eat of it himself, but if he do otherwise, he is a false prophet ; and every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not what he teacheth is a false prophet ; and every prophet who is approved and true, and ministering in the visible mystery of the Church, but who teacheth not others to do the things that he doth himself, shall not be judged of you, for with God lieth his judgment, for in this manner also did the ancient prophets. But whoever shall say in the spirit, Give me money, or things of that kind, listen not to him ; but if he tell you concerning others that are in need that ye should give unto them, let no one judge him.

XII. Let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received, but afterwards ye shall examine him and know his character, for ye have knowledge both of good and evil. If the person who cometh be a wayfarer, assist him so far as ye are able ; but he will not remain

¹ Matt. xii. 31.

with you more than two or three days, unless there be a necessity.¹ But if he wish to settle with you, being a craftsman, let him work, and so eat; but if he know not any craft, provide ye according to your own discretion, that a Christian may not live idle among you; but if he be not willing to do so, he is a trafficker in Christ. From such keep aloof.

XIII. But every true prophet who is willing to dwell among you is worthy of his meat, likewise a true teacher is himself worthy of his meat, even as is a labourer. Thou shalt, therefore, take the first-fruits of every produce of the wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and sheep, and shalt give it to the prophets, for they are your chief priests; but if ye have not a prophet, give it unto the poor. If thou makest a feast, take and give the first-fruits according to the commandment; in like manner when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the first-fruits and give it to the prophets; take also the first-fruits of money, of clothes, and of every possession, as it shall seem good unto thee, and give it according to the commandment.

XIV. But on the Lord's day, after that ye have assembled together, break bread and give thanks, having in addition confessed your sins, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let not any one who hath a quarrel with his companion join with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be polluted, for it is that which is spoken of by the Lord. In every place and time offer unto me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the Gentiles.²

¹ Ignatius, Epistle to Romans, c. ix.

² Mal. i. ii.

XV. Elect, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not covetous, and true and approved, for they perform for you the service of prophets and teachers. Do not, therefore, despise them, for they are those who are honoured among you, together with the prophets and teachers. Rebuke one another, not in wrath, but peaceably, as ye have commandment in the Gospel; and, but let no one speak to any one who walketh disorderly with regard to his neighbour, neither let him be heard by you until he repent. But your prayers and your almsgivings and all your deeds so do, as ye have commandment in the Gospel of our Lord.¹

XV. Watch concerning your life; let not your lamps be quenched or your loins be loosed,² but be ye ready, for ye know not the hour at which our Lord cometh.³ But be ye gathered together frequently, seeking what is suitable for your souls; for the whole time of your faith shall profit you not, unless ye be found perfect in the last time. For in the last days false prophets and seducers shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate; and because iniquity aboundeth they shall hate each other, and persecute each other, and deliver each other up; and then shall the Deceiver of the world appear as the Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands; and he shall do unlawful things, such as have never happened since the beginning of the world. Then shall the creation of man come to the fiery trial of proof, and many

¹ Matt. xvi. 15.

² Luke xii. 35.

³ Matt. xxiv. 42.

shall be offended and shall perish ; but they who remain in their faith shall be saved by the rock of offence itself. And then shall appear the signs of the truth ; first the sign of the appearance in heaven, then the sign of the sound of the trumpet ; and thirdly, the resurrection of the dead—not of all, but as it has been said, The Lord shall come and all his saints with him ; then shall the world behold the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven.¹

¹ Zech. xiv. 5.

NOTES

Cap. I.—The introductory part in the recension of Bryennius is largely taken from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. From cap. i. to vi. it is almost certain that the writer must have had the text of the Sermon on the Mount in his possession, as the coincidences are too numerous to allow it to be supposed that they are based on traditional sayings. The Gospel of St. John does not seem to have been used, and St. Mark is only quoted once, in cap. xii., where St. Mark xi. 9 is alluded to. There are a few quotations from the Old Testament. In my own reconstruction of the text I have prefixed the commencement of the Epitome, as it gives the names of the twelve Apostles, and assigns the maxims to their various authors. The substance of the teaching is nearly the same in the two works as far as cap. vi. At cap. vii. the Didache of the recension of Bryennius diverges from the Epitome, and directions from the Clementine Liturgies for the administration of the Sacrament are added. The resemblance to the Clementine Liturgy in the 7th book of the Apostolic Constitutions cannot be disputed, the form for the administration of the Communion being substantially the same, though with a few differences of expression employed.

Cap. III. *μη γίνου ψεύστης*.—This passage is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, i. 319; he apparently supposed that it came from one of the canonical books: *οὗτος κλέπτῃς ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται· φησὶ γάρ τις, μη γίνου ψεύστης· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν*. No other quotations from the Didache have been found.

Cap. VI. *λατρεία γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν*.—*Cf.* St. Clement to the Corinthians, ii. 3: *ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς*.

Cap. VI.—No book of the Old Testament is mentioned in cap. i.–vi. of the Didache, but a number of passages are evidently

alluded to. The following seem to have been used: Exodus xx. 13; Proverbs xii. 15-28, iii. 34; Tobit iv. 15; Habakkuk ii. 9; Psalm i. 3, 4; and allusions to the following books may be traced: Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Zechariah, the Book of Wisdom (several times), and the Book of Baruch. With regard to the New Testament, besides the quotations from St. Matthew and St. Luke, which form the basis of the doctrine of the Way of life, there are many allusions to the Epistles of St. Paul, particularly the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and the Epistles of St. Peter, St. James, and St. Jude, so that there can be little reason to doubt that the author or compiler had a complete copy of the canonical books of the New Testament in his hands, from which he drew the substance of his teaching.

Cap. VII.—With regard to the liturgical fragment given in cap. vii.-x., it is necessary to remark that it does not harmonise with any of the ancient liturgies, with the exception of that found in the Clementine Constitutions. The whole body of the Eastern and Western Liturgies may be divided into four classes—the Roman, the Gallic, that of Alexandria, and that of Jerusalem. The Clementine Liturgy, as found in the Apostolic Constitutions, differs entirely from these four, and does not seem ever to have been used, the object for which it was composed being apparently unknown. The form given in the Didache for the celebration of the Communion belongs to the Clementine series, and does not resemble in any way that contained in the four ancient liturgies; and though it is not precisely the same as that found in the 7th book of the Apostolic Constitutions, it evidently belongs to the same recension.

The form given for the administration of baptism does not seem to correspond with any form that was ever actually employed in the Primitive Church. The expression, "having first recited all these things"—*i.e.*, all the preceding part of the Didache—cannot be allowed to represent correctly the primitive form of baptism, which was entirely different, nothing resembling the commencement of the Didache having been employed. The oldest form, after that used in the New Testament, is found in Tertullian and Cyprian.¹ According to Tertullian, the person to be baptized

¹ Tertullian, De Corona, iii.; Adver. Prax., xxvi.; De Baptismo, vii., viii. Cyprian, Epist., xlix. 6; lxx. 1, 2.

renounced publicly the Devil, his pomp and his angels, and was then dipped three times into water in the names of the three Persons of the Trinity; and according to Cyprian, at a period a little later, a formal confession of faith was made: "Dost thou believe in eternal life and the remission of sins?" &c. The Clementine form for the administration of baptism is given at cap. xxxix.-xlv. of the 7th book of the Apostolic Constitutions, and does not resemble that given in the Didache, being a service of some length, containing a confession of faith and directions for the details of the baptism, which included the anointing with oil, and instructions for the consecration of the oil and water employed. The reason why the form given in the Didache differs from the Clementine Constitutions does not seem to be known, the editor for some cause declining to give the Clementine form, which is followed in the form for the administration of the Communion. The form given in cap. ix. for the administration of the Eucharist agrees on the whole with that found in the Apostolic Constitutions, vii. 25, 26, though there are a few differences in the expressions employed, and in the Apostolic Constitutions no form is given for the consecration of the cup. Neither form resembles that found in the ancient liturgies, where the service is of much greater length. The expression "Holy vine of David" does not occur in any of the earlier liturgies, and together with the sentence, "This broken bread scattered upon the mountains," seems to point to Palestine as the source of the passage, which may probably be a fragment of the ancient Liturgy of Antioch or Cæsarea. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Quis. Div. Salv. 29, p. 952: οὗτος ὁ τὸν αἶνον τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβιδ ἐχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετρωμένας ψυχάς.

Cap. VIII.—The version of the Lord's Prayer given in the Didache agrees on the whole with that in the Apostolic Constitutions, with the following variations:—

Didache: τῷ οὐρανῷ; ἐπὶ γῆς; τὴν ὀφειλὴν; ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Apostolic Constitutions: τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; τὰ ὀφειλήματα; ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

The occurrence of the Doxology in the version given by the Didache, and also in that of the Apostolic Constitutions, which, though not precisely the same as that found in St. Matthew, is



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in both instances substantially the same, proves conclusively that it must have been part of the original prayer as recorded by St. Matthew, and not an addition, as some critics hold, from the Greek service books. The following are the variations in St. Matthew and St. Luke from the version of the Didache:—

St. Matthew vi. 9: τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; τὰ ὀφειλήματα.

St. Luke xi. 2: τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; τὰς ἀμαρτίας.

St. Matthew: ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

St. Luke: the Doxology is omitted.

Cap. XI.—The directions given for the reception of prophets and apostles are not precisely parallel to the directions in the Apostolic Constitutions, and in some respects are peculiar to the Didache, though there is a general resemblance to cap. xxviii. of the Apostolic Constitutions. As to the substance of them, they do not justify the statement in the text that they are κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (according to the precept of the Gospel), as nothing resembling them is found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. They do not, further, harmonise with the passages relating to Church offices in Clemens Romanus and Hermas and the other early authorities, who make no mention of the order of prophets and apostles as still existing, so that it seems best to regard them as the composition of the compiler of the Didache, who inserted them to convey the impression that the work was written in the time of the apostles themselves.

Cap. XIII.—The passage about the maintenance of the ministers of the Church is parallel to cap. xxix. of the Apostolic Constitutions, and from cap. xiv. of the Didache to the conclusion the two works are substantially the same, as will be seen by comparing them with cap. xxx.—xxxii. of Book vii. of the Apostolic Constitutions.